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Gender, Corporeality and Christianity in the Old English Judith, Juliana and Elene

by

Marianne Alicia Malo Chenard

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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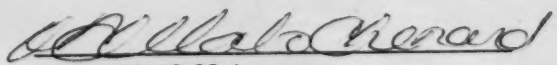

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Gender, Corporeality and Christianity in the Old English Judith, Juliana and Elene submitted by Marianne Alicia Malo Chenard in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Abstract

Gender in tenth-century Old English religious poetry is intimately linked to representations of the body, as well as to medieval exegesis concerning the relationship between the spirit and the flesh. The anonymous poem Judith and Cynewulf's Juliana and Elene all present a masculine God in relation to whom Christian heroines are fundamentally feminized--subservient and obedient--and for whom these women figuratively act as earthly agents. Through their triumphant efforts to carry out God's will, the warrior, the virgin martyr and the queen demonstrate the fluid association between body and gender. Their stories reveal that this interplay signifies differently between them and, to an even greater extent, between them and God's male enemies. Indeed, this link privileges the Christian, while those in the latter category--the pagan and the Jew--experience the defeat that it ultimately abets.

To Charles, Mom and Dad

Preface

This project grew out of my longstanding interest in the treatment of gender in Old English poetry, stimulated while I was studying Beowulf as an undergraduate. I was both fascinated and disturbed by the monstrous portrayal of Grendel's mother: fascinated by the warrior-like qualities attributed to her (especially when I compared her with the male hero or juxtaposed her with the peace-weaving queen Wealhtheow) and disturbed by the poem's clearly less-than-positive attitude towards her. Did the poem malign her because she thwarted what I supposed to be "traditional" Anglo-Saxon gender roles; because she was not back home, dispensing wine to some lord and his troops? This question continued to haunt me during my senior Honors tutorial dealing with Judith, where I examined the heroine's portrayal as Ecclesia using gender theory ranging from Jane Chance's pioneering Woman as Hero in Old English Literature to Judith Butler's radical Gender Trouble. To me, it was only natural that this work would expand into a Master's thesis taking Judith into consideration once again, in addition to expanding the set of primary texts to include Cynewulf's Juliana and Elene.

As much as such a reading list seems minuscule for a graduate-level study, I feel that I have only barely scratched the surface of the texts and issues at hand. Judith, Juliana and Elene have proven to be absolute gold-mines of material requiring intensive theoretical treatment. Quite often during my preparations for this project, I felt torn between travel in two methodological directions: first, a need to ground my work in traditional Old English scholarship (i.e., allegorical readings and source studies that do not take issues of gender, power and the body into account); second, an equally strong

need to push these texts to their theoretical limits as far as gender, power and the body were concerned. What I present here is the best compromise I could manage, at this point, between these two extremes.

All of the translations from the Old English included in this thesis are my own. The Old English transcriptions that I have used for my three principal texts are those provided by Marie Nelson in Judith, Juliana, and Elene: Three Fighting Saints. My decision to use this source was largely one of convenience: the book contained all three poems that I wished to consider, and itself provided full (albeit very idiomatic) translations against which I could compare my own glosses. I have followed Nelson's transcription errors (for example, the misnumbering between Elene 105 and 110) for the sake of consistency. I accept full responsibility for any unintentional errors that might remain in the translations presented here. It is to be noted that all of the Old English works cited are referred to by line number; furthermore, these line numbers correspond to the Old English transcriptions rather than to my translations which, nevertheless, I have tried to keep to within five lines of the originals.

My decision to carry out my own translations stems from my desire to attain, as much as possible, a sensitive, workable compromise between syntactic accuracy and readability. I wished to retain the formality of Old English vocabulary and syntax without leaving the Modern English sounding too artificial. At the same time, I also wanted to avoid a reading that would obscure the image patterns (such as the contrasts between light and dark, wisdom and foolishness) that are so crucial to Old English texts. Indeed, Old English literature presents a very cut-and-dried view of the world in which black hats and white hats are never exchanged, or even removed. Close textual attention, however,

reveals intriguing slippages that highlight the ways in which the forces of good appropriate evil for the purpose of destroying it. Discoveries of this type are what makes the tedious work of translation entirely worth the trouble.

Acknowledgments

Heartfelt thanks go to my supervisor, Prof. Larry McKill, whose constant patience and gentle encouragement saw me through both my 1997 Honors Tutorial and this present project. I appreciated his willingness to learn with me as my interest in Old English literature evolved; I was especially thankful for his unqualified support regarding the application of gender theory to Old English texts. Prof. Garrett Epp spurred my interest in gender issues, pushed me to the limits of my intellectual stamina, and kept me entertained with his wicked sense of humor. My professors and fellow graduate students provided many wonderful exchanges of ideas, both inside and outside of class, that considerably stimulated my work. They also helped me stay relatively sane as I attempted to push through this degree in a year, write GREs and make PhD applications. You all know who you are.

To my parents, Daria and Eugene Malo, I owe (quite literally) a heavy debt. Their extremely generous support--both material and spiritual--allowed me the privilege of extending my academic life. My sister and brother-in-law, Michelle and James Auld, generously provided free bed-and-breakfast service--often on short notice--during my rejuvenating visits to Calgary; their children, Robbie and Nicole, were kind enough to provide the occasional "baby breaks" that allowed me to set aside the books and simply be "Auntie Moo" for awhile. Finally, my husband, Charles Chenard, resiliently served as my best friend and punching bag, never lost faith in me, and eagerly supplied steady doses of unconditional love. Merci infiniment.

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Introduction

The Old English religious poems Judith, Juliana and Elene highlight how gender, the body and power interrelate in a universe overseen by an infallible, male-gendered God. This unmistakably Christian deity mandates an order that depends upon the clear distinctions between binary opposites--such as good and evil, male and female--for its stability. Within this scheme, the primary juxtaposition differentiates Creator and creature in a superior / inferior relationship; furthermore, creation's inferiority is its fundamental state, not an acquired condition. This thesis uses the term "feminized" to describe creation's condition of weakness and subservience. "Feminized" qualifies a signifier, often perceived (implicitly or explicitly) as carrying a "female" or "feminine" association. Such an association is itself conflated with the inferior body (as opposed to the superior, "masculine" soul) of medieval exegesis; the "feminized" entity is then tagged as the less powerful signifier relative to another with which it is compared. Indeed, power is mediated through gendered bodies that do not necessarily correspond to a given biological sex. In Judeo-Christian scripture, God is the Omnipotent signifier in relation to which every created being--male or female--is always already feminized.

Nevertheless, the power imbalance to which the concept of feminization draws attention manifests itself even within creation: between woman and man, for example, or between Christian and heathen. The way in which Judith's, Juliana's and Elene's non-providential characters are feminized in relation to each other--this relative feminization being a process rather than an elemental state of being--depends upon their relationships with God. Specifically, the more one displays qualities associated with God (such as beauty or wisdom), the less one is feminized compared with other created beings. This

principle applies in the same way to embodied and disembodied beings alike: it encompasses angels and devils as readily as it includes rulers and subjects. For the most part, the characters in the poems under consideration do not significantly change the nature of their relationship to the Father--and, therefore, to each other--in the course of the narratives. The obvious exception to this general rule is Elene's Judas, who, after undergoing significant physical and mental torture at the queen's hands, not only converts to Christianity but is made a bishop and granted miraculous healing powers.

While bringing contemporary critical theories to bear upon these three poems, I have also considered the material conditions surrounding these texts' possible origins and uses. This methodological maneuver will, I hope, balance any (unintended) move toward "modernizing" the works being examined and the issues they present. This being said, the dates of composition for these works cannot be ascertained; they do not necessarily correspond with the provenance of the poetic manuscripts. Whether the poems began as oral stories that were only later fixed on parchments, or were first created as literary works, has been a longstanding debate. The possible disjunctions between "poem" and "manuscript" have led critics to assign a wide range of composition dates for the poems. In the case of Judith, for example, a range of anywhere from the seventh to the tenth centuries (and beyond) has been suggested, based on the poem's metrical evidence (Timmer 6). At present, I am content to accept E. V. K. Dobbie's long-accepted theory of the poem's middle- or late- tenth-century origin (lxiv). Although literacy among Anglo-Saxon women was certainly not an unheard-of phenomenon, I will assume a masculine gender for the anonymous Judith-poet for no better reason than because the majority of the period's identified writers have thus far been male. Even with a known

author in view, the dates of the Cynewulfian poems Juliana and Elene have faced similar controversy. R. D. Fulk notes that a fairly firm (yet wide) terminus a quo has been set between the middle of the eighth and ninth centuries CE, whereas an even more decisive terminus ad quem has been established in the latter half of the tenth century (15-16). Patrick W. Conner argues convincingly for placing Cynewulf and his works squarely in the tenth century (46-47). For the purposes of this study, I will accept Conner's conclusion.

Issues of dating bring to mind that the characters about whom Cynewulf writes were, in fact, historical figures. Jane Chance notes that "Juliana takes place sometime during the reign of Maximian in A.D. 308-14, when he was fighting Constantine, his son-in-law;" she sets the range for Juliana's martyrdom at between 305 and 311 CE (37). The Constantine against whom Maximian waged war was, in fact, the husband of Elene and father of Constantine the Great, both of whom are principal characters in Elene. Chance explains that Elene "takes place in 312, when Constantine first received the vision of the Cross on the eve before he faced Maxentius for the last of three times, and later, in its second and longer part, in 325, when his mother Elene built the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and Church of the Nativity in Jerusalem" (37-38).

In addition, whether she is an historical or biblical woman, Judith, Juliana and Elene can each be read as a figure representing the Church and / or the soul. The terms I use to refer to figurative textual interpretations follow those outlined by the Anglo-Saxon clergyman Bede in De Schematibus et Tropis, a work likely written in the early eighth century (Tanenhaus 237). De Schematibus describes the divisions within a four-fold allegorical scheme, where a given passage "may now denote a historical fact, now have a

figurative meaning, now a tropological or moral interpretation, and still again an anagogical explanation leading us figuratively to higher things" (Tanenhaus 251). Bede employs several biblical passages to explain his terminology:

> According to historical fact the temple of the Lord is the house which Solomon built; allegorically, it is the body of the Lord, about which He said: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up" [John 2: 19]. Or it is his church, which was addressed as follows: "For the temple of God is holy, and such are ye" [1 Cor. 3: 17]. Through the tropological interpretation it signifies some one of the loyal men, who are addressed as follows: "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you" [1 Cor. 3: 16]? Through the anagogical interpretation it signifies the joys of the heavenly dwelling for which that man longed, who said: "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house. They will be still praising thee" [Ps. 84: 4]. (Tanenhaus 252)

Throughout this study, I use the system of four-fold allegory as a tool with which to deepen examination of the gender, body and power issues at hand, realizing that the Christian Anglo-Saxon audiences listening to (or perhaps reading) the poems would have been well-trained in the mechanics of Bede's multi-level explanation. Given what ended up being the methodological utility of figurative interpretation, then, my considerations of four-fold allegory are not consistent either within or between chapters; furthermore, I do not take all four levels into account. I have chosen to limit this project to considerations of allegorical and, to a much lesser extent, tropological readings of these poems. Old English criticism to date has largely focused on these two particular levels and, furthermore, has done so in a very conservative fashion. In short, the allegorical and tropological levels of these poems require theorizing most immediately, both as a necessary counterbalance to--and, especially, as a means of troubling--conservative critiques. My use of terms is very specific, if somewhat idiosyncratic: for instance, I use

"allegorical" exclusively to refer to readings of characters as Ecclesia, the earthly Church, and "figurative" to denote figurative explication in general.

Overall, I have aimed to consider Judith, Juliana and Elene following Martin Irvine's advice that "The Old English poems on the Cross, as well as most other poems derived from Latin tradition, should be read as commentaries on Latin texts--not simply as adaptations or translations in Old English, but as glosses on texts already known and received as canonical or authoritative" (158). I refuse to see the poems as somehow lacking life or literary merit relative to their sources, as some critics have before me. Instead, I choose to see Judith, Juliana and Elene as texts with their own particular merits, especially in their relevance to each other, to their Anglo-Saxon audiences, and to the readers--both male and female--of today.

Chapter 1: Judith: Ecclesia and the Feminized Body

A comparison of the Old English poem Judith and the biblical prose original unearths significant differences in the treatment of the heroine's gender. For example, the apocryphal book repeatedly emphasizes Judith's seductive, "feminine" beauty, while the Anglo-Saxon adaptation does not mention the seductive element of the Bethulian widow's attractiveness. In fact, the Anglo-Saxon poet ultimately situates Judith beyond the categories of male and female, throwing into question Judith's status as "woman" and challenging the definition of the term itself. While the notion of gender--a cultural construct opposed to the idea of "fixed" biological sex--is nevertheless often essentialized, Judith Butler views gender in a much more fluid light. For her, gender is a cultural construct based on the idea of performativity: "in this sense, gender is always a doing" (Gender Trouble 25). How Judith "does" her gender in each rendering of her story thus merits examination using a mixture of feminist and allegorical analyses.

A starting point for understanding the Judith-poet's treatment of his subject must begin with an analysis of Ecclesia as represented in late classical and medieval exegesis. Jackson J. Campbell notes the "classic," Pauline meaning of Ecclesia as outlined in 1 Corinthians 12: "Each believing soul is a member of the body of Christ, and the sum or collection of those individuals make up a spiritual body, the Church" ([1971] 160). During the Middle Ages, this spiritual body was commonly gendered female. Caroline Walker Bynum observes that "Medieval texts and medieval art saw the Church as the body of Christ. And ecclesia [sic] was, of course, feminine, as a noun and as an allegorical personification. Thus, Church was depicted in medieval art as a woman--sometimes as Christ's bride, sometimes as a nursing mother" (93). Representing the

spiritual body of Christ in its entirety, the female Ecclesia bent to omnipotent will so that the Father could further his terrestrial interests. In effect, the depiction of Church as female flagged a wholesale conflation between gender category and power relation. Within this exegetical framework, the male-gendered Creator wielded power over his feminized--that is, inferior and subservient--creation, the spiritual body of Christ included.[1]

Within an exegetical framework, then, one's being female meant that one would be expected to act in ways that reflected and respected the power imbalance not only between oneself and the Father, but also between oneself and the feminized (though not female-dominated) Church. In her complete subservience to God, the Virgin Mary displayed an exemplary feminization in her assent to become the vessel that conceived and carried Christ's physical body.[2] Not surprisingly, Christ's ever-obedient mother was often read as a manifestation of Ecclesia (Campbell [1996] 235). Moreover, Mary served as the behavioral model for Christian Anglo-Saxon women (Chance 11). Indeed, women were doomed to subservience in a postlapsarian order: after Eve eats the Forbidden Fruit, God tells her that "Your yearning will be for your husband, / and he will dominate you" (Gen. 3: 16). The Church, charged with upholding this order, saw women who mimicked Eve's willfulness as similarly deserving of providential retribution.

Conversely, the arrival of situations interpreted as manifestations of God's punishment were, in part, blamed upon those women who transgressed the law of the Father. In 1014, for instance, Bishop Wulfstan called on the English in his "Sermo Lupi" to repent after a period of vicious Danish attacks upon them. Wulfstan made the relationship between the Anglo-Saxons's behavior and the invasions absolutely clear: Ne

dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute, ac wæs here 7 hete on gewelhwilcan ende oft 7 gelome, 7 Engle nu lange eal sigelease 7 to swipe geyrgde purh Godes yrre, 7 flotmen swa strange purh Godes pafunge pæt oft on gefeohte an feseð tyne 7 hwilum læs, hwilum ma, eal for urum synnum 'Nothing has prospered now for a long time, within nor without, but there has constantly been devastation and malice on nearly every side, and for a long time now the English have been entirely victoryless and exceedingly disheartened through God's anger and pirates, so strong through God's consent, that often in battle one puts to flight ten and sometimes less, sometimes more, all for our sins' (109-113). The bishop specifically cites myltestran 'prostitutes'--women who deviated from the fiat mihi ideal of chaste obedience to Church and God--among others in a lengthy list of transgressors (163). Given Judith's likely tenth-century composition, the poem and the sermon can be read as complementary texts that address very similar concerns about proper female comportment during a specific historical period.[3]

The Virgin Mary was thus a figure that the Anglo-Saxon Church could appropriate at any point to justify the premium it placed upon women's conformity to Mary's example. Given the Virgin's crucial role in salvation history as the Mother of God, this dynamic becomes more clear. Mary gave birth to the Savior as part of the divine plan to redeem humankind after sin entered the world (Danielou 38). Within this scheme, Mary assented to virgin motherhood, and through this assent became the vessel who conceived the embodied Word of God. Her act of assent was a step toward restoring the divine order made chaotic through Eve's disobedience. Jean Danielou cites St. Irenaeus to explain the typological relationship between Eve and Mary, in which the Virgin's actions reorder, remedy, and fulfill what her biblical predecessor had put into

disorder: "as Eve proving disobedient became the cause of death both to herself and to all mankind: so also Mary . . . being obedient, became to herself and all mankind the cause of salvation. . . . [I]n no other way can that which is knotted be undone, but by bending the loops of the knot in reverse order" (44). To the extent that they mimicked the Virgin's behavior, all women who postdated Mary became part of this providential plan as well. Indeed, they were part of the mechanism of behavioral citation and reproduction that underpinned the performative nature of gender itself.[4] Judith Butler explains the notions of citation and reproduction as follows:

> The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again. ("Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" 277)

The Anglo-Saxon Church exhorted Christian women to cite and repeat Mary's gender performance, an act of obedience that assured humankind's salvation. This was to be accomplished through their subservience both to the male-gendered God and to the Church that received and reproduced the divine prerogatives of policing, rewarding, and punishing both individual and collective misbehaviors. In effect, it was through acts of subservience to masculinized authorities that woman, whether lay or religious, was to "do" her gender and thus confirm her essential feminization. Such performances were mediated through a physical body that medieval theology inextricably connected with biological womanhood. Bynum observes that "theologians drew on the long-standing analogy 'spirit is to flesh as male is to female,' familiar in exegesis from patristic days" (98).[5] This link between flesh and female emerged from the notion that, since Christ's father was divine, Jesus's humanity came entirely from Mary. But Jesus's physical body

itself was a paradox, in that "his own flesh did womanly things: it bled, it bled food and it gave birth" (Bynum 101). By the late Middle Ages, Mary herself had become a sexually liminal figure. For example, iconography from this period included depictions of a priestly Mary, portrayals emphasizing the Virgin's role as primary purveyor of the Eucharist, that is, the physical body of Christ (Bynum 103).

Within the context of medieval theology, then, biological sex and gender role were rather fluidly linked; this link was mediated by the various activities that the physical body, whether male or female, carried out. Nevertheless, a fundamental distinction between the sexes themselves remained in force, as was the necessity of actions--whether or not congruous with anatomical identity--to conform to the furtherance of divine will. When considered alongside conceptualizations of Christ's body, the notion of a female Ecclesia reinforced medieval notions of sexual differentiation and gender fluidity:

> To depict Church as a woman who is Christ's bride or as the mother of all Christians is not, of course, to make Christ's physical body female. But medieval texts went further. Ecclesia was identified in texts as Christ's body, not merely his spouse, and such identification led in a number of passages to discussions of Jesus as mother. The connection was clearly the notion that teachers and authorities should be nurturing; therefore Church, and Church's leaders, and Church's head himself were mothers. (Bynum 93)

It was within this framework that the female Ecclesia could both be and act as Christ's discursively female body inasmuch as she was distinguished from Jesus's physically male body.

But the earthly Ecclesia was made up of human souls housed in physical bodies. Salvation history, characterized by the battle between good and evil initiated by the Fall and ending with the Last Judgment, was manifested on earth in the form of conflicts

involving flesh-bound human beings. This concept was, in fact, particularly important to medieval interpretations of both contemporary and historical events, such as the seven rules of Tyconius. According to this scheme,

> historical figures must be seen not only in their abstract sign value as emblems of good or evil, but also as timely exponents of the divine or demonic head to whom they have allied themselves. . . . Both Christ and Satan have their earthly bodies, their incarnations in others, and as a result historical human conflict is inherently apocalyptic as the expression and means of cosmic oppositions. (Astell 119)

This explanation highlights the concreteness inherent in figurative interpretations of history extant at the likely time of Judith's composition. The logical corollary to this mode of thought was that "To submit to the Danes was to join oneself to the body of the Antichrist" (Astell 120). Such a statement has important implications within the historical context of the poem's composition; indeed, "Judith may have been written for an audience which included women in danger of rape and spiritual abuse by pagans and who had as little real protection as Judith, alone in the Assyrian camp" (Olsen 291). As support for this argument, Olsen cites Wulfstan's "Sermo Lupi" and its description of the gang rape of Anglo-Saxon women by Danish invaders while Englishmen look on helplessly.[6] The horrific spectacle of Anglo-Saxon women being forcibly joined to the Antichrist's body, then, may have created in Judith a call to arms for men to defend the women who were not only kin, but who also collectively represented a feminized and failing Ecclesia's struggle against an immanent heathen threat.

Whether read as a political cry, allegorical tale, or both, the Judith-text sets up absolute contrasts between good and evil; it demonstrates the diametric opposition between divine and diabolic forces and the fundamental immiscibility of these two extremes. The apocryphal book of Judith, containing the Judith-poet's source material,

does not use such an approach. When the Old English Judith is examined alongside the biblical text, then, the poem's potential for clear allegorical and tropological readings is thrown into relief. The biblical Holofernes, for example, is not nearly as evil a character as his medieval counterpart. The excessive drinking that contributes to his death is neither riotous nor habitual; in other words, it does not demonstrate "bad feasting" practice that Old English literature equates with the forces of evil.[7] Instead, in the presence of the beautiful Judith, the Assyrian chieftain becomes "so enchanted with her that he drank far more wine than he had drunk on any other day in his life" (Jth. 12: 20). Hugh Magennis notes that, in contrast, the Old English Holofernes "appears as characteristically unruly, a man of excesses who is accustomed to over-drinking. This change fits in with the black and white terms of the poem's whole moral scheme, in which Holofernes is a monstrous, indeed devilish--se deofolcunda ['that one of the race of devils'] (61)--reprobate" ([1983] 333).[8]

Rather than being merely devilish, however, Judith's Holofernes is the devil incarnate. Furthermore, the poem's diction also solidly links the chieftain's army with Satan. John P. Hermann states that the word ealdgeniðlan, "A loan translation of the recurrent motif of the hostis antiquus . . . is often used to refer to Satan in Old English poetry" (177). The poem reveals that the Assyrians are ealdgeniðlan 'old foes' (228b) against whom the Bethulian people avenge ealde æfðoncan 'old offenses' (265a) through battle. Here, the tenor of Magennis's allegorical reading complements Ann W. Astell's tropological assessment of the text, in which "Holofernes as heafod ['head'] of the Assyrians is the source of unrighteous deeds, and his thegns, in a grim parody of the corpus Christi mysticum, are his extended self, his members, his limbs" (124).[9]

Opposing the Assyrians are Judith's Bethulian people, members of the mystical body of Christ that the heroine subsumes. Moreover,

> The poet's language, which establishes a conflict between native inhabitants (landbuende) and invaders (elpeod), Christians and heathens, sober warriors (styrnmode) and drunken thegns (medowerige), facilitates the assimilation of the [Anglo-Saxon] audience into the poem at the tropological level, inviting them to fight as courageously against the Danes as the Israelites do against the Assyrians. (Astell 132)

As Ecclesia, the force that ultimately saves the Bethulian people (and, by extension, the English) from destruction, Judith is inextricably bound to God in all aspects of her being. Words denoting brightness, for example, permeate the poet's physical descriptions of the heroine. The contrast between light and dark imagery is a convention widely used in Old English poetry to distinguish good from evil; such a technique highlights the belief that true beauty and light derive solely from God, and are essentially the same phenomenon (Taylor 212). Judith is pa torhtan mægð 'the radiant maiden' (43a) whose origin resides in . . . fæder on roderum / torhtmod . . . 'The radiant-minded Father in the skies' (5b-6a). Here, beauty and light link Judith to God through her body, mind and spirit. While the poet does not directly link Holofernes's figurative darkness with that of the devil, the Assyrian leader is nevertheless intimately associated with it: when Holofernes dies, he is pystrum forðylmed 'wrapped about with darkness' in hell (118a).

Nevertheless, Judith's attractiveness may not be as uncomplicated as it may initially appear. The term ides ælfscinu 'elf-shining woman' is problematic here (14a). Patricia A. Belanoff argues that "The quality represented by [ælfscinu] must be recognized as being far more complex than ordinary beauty, as being suggestive of beauty deceptively manipulated" (251). More specifically, Peter J. Lucas suggests that

"Ides ælfscinu 'a woman of elfin beauty' suggests not so much an evil genius as a woman who had the effect of arousing the male libido" (19). According to these points of view, the idea that Judith's appearance and actions might be deliberately deceitful somehow softens the otherwise crisp distinction that the poet draws between good and evil.[10] This situation can become especially disturbing for critics intent on preserving the notion of Judith's absolute purity.[11] At the same time, however, one must consider that the latter part of the word ælfscinu, 'shining,' connotes both a physical and spiritual purity that permeates the heroine. This designation thus links Judith once again with the radiant God, pointing to a beauty that the Father infuses through Judith--deceptive as it may be to Holofernes--for the purpose of advancing God's will. With recourse to an allegorical reading of the text and a consequent understanding of Holofernes as the devil incarnate, one can see how Judith as Ecclesia is, in fact, charged with eliminating evil. Judith's deceptive appearance, then, along with her act of murder, are completely in keeping with the poem's black-and-white portrayal of the eternal battle between the forces of good and evil, as well as the eschatological notion of evil's final eradication of at the end of time.

A comparison between the apocryphal and Old English versions of the Judith-story, however, demonstrates that the latter account--the above consideration of ælfscinu's possible connotations excepted--does not specifically mention the heroine's seductive, feminine beauty that allows her access to Holofernes in the first place. Indeed, a number of critics see the poet's approach to the story as a suppression or an editing-out of biblical detail for the purpose of maintaining an absolutely clean distinction between good and evil.[12] If, like Jane Chance, one assumes that Judith followed the Virgin Mary as a biblical behavioral exemplar for Anglo-Saxon women (31), then the particular type

of obedience that the Mother of God embodies must be the lens through which both the apocryphal Judith and her Old English counterpart are examined. It quickly becomes evident that Mary's prototypical gender performance does not accord with contemporary expectations of "good" behavior. Although Mary perfectly adheres to God's plan, she nevertheless appears, for a time, as a figure of sexual transgression. For instance, she is already engaged to Joseph when she hears that she has been selected to become the Mother of God. Subsequently, she assents to impregnation by the Holy Spirit so that Jesus's conception can take place. Mary's out-of-wedlock pregnancy consequently threatens her betrothal; Joseph offers to end it quietly (Matt. 1: 19). Within the context of salvation history, then, Mary's apparent infidelity becomes necessary for the establishment of God's kingdom on earth.

In a similar way, the biblical Judith gives the appearance of disrupting order for the sake of the Bethulian people's victory over the heathen Assyrians. Although Judith forsakes her widow's weeds for a harlot's dress, the narrative gives no indication that the Bethulian elders doubt her intentions: on the contrary, when they see her, they find themselves "lost in admiration of her beauty" and then immediately bestow a blessing upon her (Jth. 10: 7). They take Judith at her word when she announces that "the Lord will make use of me to rescue Israel." (Jth. 8: 33). Despite the fact that the heroine reveals no details of her plan to murder Holofernes, the elders recognize her alluring dress as a disguise rather than as a curious, sexualized citation of Eve's willful comportment in the Garden of Eden. Since Judith is to carry out a seductive gender performance in God's name, the Hebrew patriarchs--precursors of the Christian Church

hierarchy--permit the influential woman to obscure the chaste / wanton binary not only without penalty, but with their wholehearted approval.

In fact, it is Judith's very successful act of obscuring this binary that provides the key to her victory: her mission succeeds because Holofernes and his army misread her as an Assyrian-sympathizing whore. Bewitched by Judith's beauty, Holofernes drinks himself into a stupor; in turn, Judith beheads the enemy chieftain without his offering the least bit of resistance (Jth. 13: 8). No such echoes, however, of Judith as both enchantress and chaste widow pervade the Old English poem. The poet might use such a strategy lest undesirable overtones of chaos-causing Eve undermine Judith's spiritual and behavioral purity, and thus her worthiness as a behavioral model for Christian women. As a result, an anachronistically-Christian Judith does not overtly cite and repeat either the biblical Judith's or the Virgin Mary's particular brands of liminally-subversive submission to God, although the reference to her as ides ælfscinu 'elf-shining woman' (14a) hints in a direction that allows Judith, like Mary, to appear and to act in apparently subversive ways while she remains absolutely obedient to her Lord. Indeed, even as the poet desexualizes Judith's gender performance to a degree that greatly minimizes any tie between "woman" and "wiles," he does not completely eliminate the seductive aspect of her portrayal. In fact, this small erotic space points to the notion that God approves of Judith's appropriate manipulation of evil to abet its eradication.[11] The Father himself sets the example: the Old English Holofernes's penchant for drink not only makes the chieftain appear outrightly devilish, but eliminates Judith's seductive beauty as the direct cause of a one-time binge. In effect, Holofernes destroys himself because of his own habitual excess (Magennis [1983] 333).

The relationship between God and the Old English heroine, however, still hinges upon the imbalance of power between them. For example, the poem emphasizes Judith's feminization in the episode where the Hebrew widow prays to God for help before beheading Holofernes. The fact that Judith finds herself with haligre hyht geniwod 'her hope in the Holy One renewed' indicates that she must have experienced some sort of lapse in faith (98a). While this situation appears merely inconsistent on the poem's literal level, it disrupts and troubles allegorical (and to a lesser degree, tropological) interpretations of Judith herself. In a poem that so carefully contrasts good and evil otherwise, it seems strange that Ecclesia, the Church, would undergo a belief crisis: indeed, the text introduces Judith as pe heo ahte trumne geleafan / a to ðam ælmihtigan 'she who always possessed firm belief in the Almighty' (6b-7a). The tone of Wulfstan's "Sermo Lupi" demonstrates that the bishop perceived Ecclesia--a bulwark of divine order --as an unwavering force charged with combating two very real manifestation of chaos: the danger of recently-initiated believers reverting to paganism, and the hazard posed by a fierce Danish military presence sent by God as a punishment for the collective sins that the bishop catalogues.

Another point of concern on an allegorical level is the matter of Judith's physical strength. Following her prayer, Judith does not receive superhuman power: she requires two blows to amputate Holofernes's head. In contrast, Beowulf--not usually seen as a paragon of distinctly Christian virtue--needs only one sword swing to decapitate Grendel's mother. Furthermore, the Geat Hæfde ðā forsīðod . . . / under gynne grund . . . / nemne him heaðo-byrne helpe gefremede, / here-net hearde, ond hālig God / gewēold wīg-sigor 'would have perished beneath the bottom of the sea unless the battle-byrnie, the

hardened war-net, performed a help for him, and unless holy God had power over war-victory' (1550-54a). In effect, the degree of the warrior's physical force bears minimally upon his potential for victory: all that counts toward his success is whether or not God is ready to grant him a favorable end to his efforts. Indeed, prayer does not influence God's decision to uphold a warrior or not, nor to what degree. Judith similarly imparts the sense that God wields control over all events even despite human interventions in accord with divine will. A reference to Holofernes's intended rape of Judith ends with the poet's comment that Ne wolde pæt wuldres dema / geðafian, prymmes hyrde, ac he him pæs ðinges gestyrde, / dryhten, dugeða waldend 'The Judge of glory would not consent to that, the Guardian of might, but he, the Lord, the Ruler of the troop, steered him from that deed' (59b-61a). Moreover, despite Judith's supplication, she still wields less strength than does Beowulf. Her corporeal power is comparable instead with Grendel's mother's might: Wæs se gryre læssa / efne swā micle, swā bið mægpa cræft, / wīg-gryre wīfes, be wæpned-men 'That terror was less even as much as the skill of a woman, the war-terror of a woman than an armed man' (1282b-84b).

Clearly, the Old English Judith--whether read as a Germanic warrior, the sword-wielding Church Militant, or a figure of the soul warding off evil--requires poetic feminization: indeed, her relative weakness is necessary for the accentuation of her Lord's might. Yet such a conclusion is inconsistent with the modus operandus behind the apocryphal Judith's characterization. Although she also requires two sword-strokes to behead Holofernes, she demonstrates neither fear nor a lapse of faith. She prays

> Lord God, to whom all strength belongs,
> prosper what my hands are now to do
> for the greater glory of Jerusalem;
> now is the time to recover your heritage

and to further my plans
to crush the enemies arrayed against us. (Jth. 13: 4-5)

In contrast, her Anglo-Saxon counterpart utters an extended prayer in which she admits,

"Þearle ys me nu ða
heorte onhæted ond hige geomor,
swyðe mid sorgum gedrefed. Forgif me, swegles ealdor,
sigor ond soðne geleafan, pæt ic mid pys sweorde mote
geheawan pysne morðres bryttan; geunne me minra gesynta,
pearlmod ðeoden gumena. Nahte ic pinre næfre
miltse pon maran pearfe." (86b-92a)

["Now my heart is extremely aflame and my mind is troubled, exceedingly stirred up with sorrow. Grant to me, Leader of the sky, victory and true belief, that I might cut down this dispenser of murder with this sword; grant me my safety, mighty Prince of the people. I never had more need of your mercy."]

Judith's physical and spiritual states are inextricably linked, but they are connected in weakness, not in strength. Indeed, Wulfstan's Church, whether in its concrete or abstract form, is nothing without God's help: even with the Father's aid, Ecclesia remains relatively helpless. The Old English text's diction reveals that Ecclesia is but a secondary force within the scheme of salvation history. The passage just cited has Judith asking God for help to destroy ". . . pysne morðres bryttan" 'this dispenser of murder' (90a). This term is a significant twist on the common poetic designation sinces brytta 'dispenser of treasure' usually applied with positive connotations to powerful rulers. Three lines later, God receives the label "torhtmod tires brytta" 'radiant-minded dispenser of all good things' (93a). The adjective torhtmod 'radiant' once again situates God as the origin of light and beauty, paralleling the description of the Almighty as . . . fæder on roderum / torhtmod . . . 'The radiant-minded Father in the skies' at the beginning of the text (5b-6a). In addition, line 93a reinforces the link between the Creator and pa torhtan mægð 'the radiant maiden' who faithfully serves him (43a). Such

a bond solidifies Judith's absolute reliance on God not only for her success, but for her own safety: although Holofernes lies in a stupor, she still risks capture by his henchmen. At the same time, the similarity between the descriptions of Holofernes and God in lines 90a and 93a, respectively, confirms that the real battle occurs between the two chieftains who represent the extremes of good and evil.

Truly, the Old English Judith exists as a mere instrument of God's might. Even so, the space that Judith occupies is crucial: after all, just as the literary Ecclesia requires God's help for her continued existence, does not the discursive God require Ecclesia as a confirmation of His might? Butler argues that the "Symbolic"--"the paternal law"--orders a masculine / feminine binary based on the presence or absence of the Phallus (Gender Trouble 45).[13] The security of the Symbolic's hegemony thus necessitates the stability of clear-cut gender and power differences. Yet Butler overturns this apparent call-to-order with the assertion that the Phallic needs the feminine to reflect its own magnificence and to reinforce its hegemonic legitimacy. Butler's observation can, therefore, be readily called upon to buttress an argument that accepts the Judith-as-Ecclesia-figure's relative weakness, her femaleness, and her feminization as readily as these qualities are left unquestioned at literal and tropological levels (where a female warrior and the soul are indeed expected to require providential, Phallic aid).[14]

Yet despite both the traditional slippage between the terms "female" and "feminized" and the Old English poet's use of feminine nouns and pronouns to refer to a needy Judith, the character in question does not conform to a strictly "female" construction. During her victory speech to the Bethulian people, Judith aligns herself with the male gender when she describes Holofernes as the one "pe us monna mæst

morðra gefremede" 'who carried out murders to the greatest degree upon us men' (181, emphasis mine). In fact, throughout her address (lines 177-98), Judith takes on the common Old English poetic role of Germanic battle-chief, exhorting his troops to slaughter enemy forces. Judith's speech-acts therefore single-handedly transport her beyond the masculine / feminine gender binary. When one recalls the medieval exegetic notion of mother as nurturer but not necessarily a biological female, the liminality of Judith's textual gender status becomes a plausible--and desirable--means of retaining the strategic upper hand in the war for souls. If it was not unusual for male Church hierarchy from Christ on down to take on a discursive femaleness for God, there should have been no reason why an allegorical representation of Ecclesia would not have been permitted the converse privilege.

Just as God uses gender reversals among his own people to his ultimate advantage, so too does he use them among his enemies to mock and destroy them. Holofernes is a prime example here. The . . . eallgylden / fleohnet fæger 'lovely fly-net, all made of gold' (46b-47a), the one-way mirror-like instrument surrounding the chieftain's bed, literally allows Holofernes the privilege of the masculine gaze: it permits him to observe others and to objectify them without being observed and objectified himself. Karma Lochrie explains that "Judith is able to refuse the gaze, to turn it back on itself, and to appropriate its violence. In this respect, she bears more of a comparison with the violent Modthryth in Beowulf, who also refuses the masculine gaze by punishing any man who looks at her with death, than she does with any of the holy women or heroic men with whom she is usually compared" (9). Judith's ability to do this derives, in part, from Holofernes's own unintended cooperation. In a parodic reversal of the thwarted

rape scene, Holofernes drinks himself into unconsciousness, thus permitting Judith to wield full control over his body as she prepares to decapitate him.[15] The term used to describe the manner in which Judith draws Holofernes's body towards her, bysmerlice, carries connotations of both 'to Holofernes's shame' and 'shamefully,' making the parody complete as the heroine mocks both the chieftain's previous lustful intentions and foiled action (100a). Lochrie further notes,

> The sexual violence of Judith's [sic] beheading takes the form of Holofernes's bodily inscription [i.e., the beheading itself], which the text then proceeds to read. This inscription, in effect, renders Holofernes's body into a text, thereby feminizing it. . . . Holofernes's own feminization at the hands of Judith seems contagious, as the Assyrian warrior is thrown into feminine paroxysms of grief at the sight of Holofernes's lifeless trunk. His behavior compares with those female mourners at Beowulf's funeral, who are similarly distracted by grief. (12-13)

Although both Holofernes's and Judith's bodies are always already textualized and feminized in relation to their Creator, the inscriptions that God makes upon them acquire an increasing visibility throughout the course of the poem. Indeed, Judith demonstrates that the Phallic requires feminized flesh of either sex upon which to set clear signs of his omnipresence and omnipotence. But such signs signify differently, depending upon whether the flesh in question belongs to divine friend or foe. On one hand, the marks that God leaves upon Judith's flesh (such as the inspired, though not supernatural, strength that allows Judith to wield a sword effectively) render her gender performances transcendent and powerful. On the other hand, Holofernes's headless body signals a parodic reversal of the masculine / feminine gender binary that leaves him permanently impotent. In Judith's case, transcendence signals a fundamental oneness between celestial Lord and the earthly warrior executing his will: such a union obviates

any need for masculinity or femininity. At the same time, however, Judith is subsumed into an intimate alignment with the Phallic signifier, as much as such a signifier might require her subordination to reflect and to legitimize his power.

Nevertheless, the Old English Judith's gender acts expose the constructedness of both gender and its relationship to power. Furthermore, the poem's literal, allegorical and tropological levels intersect at the level of gender, or rather, at its point of erasure. Indeed, a biblical injunction supports this intersection: "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither slave nor freeman, there can be neither male nor female--for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3: 28). Just as, in a Butlerian sense, "gender is always a doing," then the extensions of the acts that confer gender transcendence upon Judith transform the Bethulian people into similarly transcendent, tropological components of the Pauline Body of Christ (Gender Trouble 25). Hermann notes that the poem's battle scene, which is not part of the apocryphal book,

> recapitulates the symbolic act of Judith, and points to the recapitulation of both actions by all members of the Church Militant who can profit from the heroine's gleaw lar ['wise teaching']. The conquest of lust by chastity might be involved, but there are broader implications as well: the conquest by the members of Ecclesia of all the forces which weaken the living body of the Lord.[16] (181)

This sense of tropological imitation captures the sense of Butler's citation and repetition that mark the transcendent gender performance that the Bethulians and Anglo-Saxons alike are called upon to perform. Judith and her people provide to Wulfstan's England a behavioral prototype that can help them once again to receive divine favor and restore social order.

Chapter 2: Juliana: Enclosure and the Virgin Body

The previous chapter has shown how the Old English Judith's portrayal throws the viability of gender divisions into question: the Bethulian woman's particular act of murder, along with her subsequent victory speech, renders her uncategorizable in a Phallicly-ordered gender system that allows only for a masculine / feminine binary. In Cynewulf's work Juliana, the heroine's actions are more recognizable and comprehensible within that scheme. But instead of Juliana's acts being the focal point of interest, it is her body that commands attention in its reactions--perhaps better stated as its apparent lack of reaction--to the tortures it undergoes in God's name.

Joseph Wittig observes that "biblical women are frequently allegorized as representing the church, and suffering women as portraying the early, struggling church" (50). Although she is not a biblical character but a historical figure, Juliana's potential representativeness as Ecclesia becomes quickly evident in Cynewulf's text. Indeed, one sees that the poem's diction sets the stage for a terrestrial, apocalyptic Tyconian battle between the forces of good and evil, Church and Satan.[1] Cynewulf writes that Juliana's story takes place during the reign of the emperor Maximian (308-14 CE), who eahtnysse ahof 'raised up persecution' against the Church (4b). Moreover, the poet similarly describes the actions carried out by Maximian's warriors: Oft hi præce rærdon 'Often they raised up violence' (12b). While the language used to describe the violent undertakings of the lord and his men is similar, the diction Cynewulf employs to compare Maximian's army with Satan's forces corresponds even more closely. The demon who visits the imprisoned Juliana describes to her how his father Satan "hatեð præce ræran" 'orders [his thanes] to raise up violence' (333b). Clearly, Maximian's warriors--among

whom Heliseus is mockingly numbered as Sum . . . æpeles cynnes 'One of that noble race'--are not only aligned with diabolic forces, but are these forces incarnated (18). Through the poem, Satan enters the fourth century and, by extension, Anglo-Saxon England not as a literary abstraction in an undetermined future but as a pervasive physical presence.

Since Juliana foregrounds Satan's historical embodiment, the poem provides the sense that the Christian body is particularly vulnerable to the devil's power. Fittingly, Cynewulf describes the oppression that Maximian deals to Christian believers with a particularly graphic, concrete slant: the emperor cwealde Cristne men, circan fylde, / geat on græswong godhergendra, / hæpen hildfruma, haligra blod, / ryhtfremmendra 'killed men of Christ, destroyed churches; the heathen battle-chief spilled on the grass the blood of holy ones, of God-praisers, of doers of righteous deeds' (5-8a). Here, the destruction of churches takes on a twofold meaning. Cynewulf's description refers not only to church buildings but also to Ecclesia, the mystical body of Christ represented by a flesh-bound community of believers. Furthermore, the diction emphasizes that the carnage Maximian carries out is physically marked. As the pagan ruler razes church buildings, he also destroys the body of Christ contained within: both the faithful at prayer and the holy Eucharist, believed to be Christ's very flesh and blood.

Just as Alexandra Hennessey Olsen writes of Judith's possible value for an audience of tenth-century Englishwomen threatened with violation by invading Danes, Shari Horner theorizes that Anglo-Saxon nuns would have found in Cynewulf's poem a narrative that spoke to their specific concerns about violence and the body in an age of religious persecution akin to that of Juliana's time:

> When women religious read of (and perhaps even wrote of) female heroics in texts like Juliana, they witnessed both an affirmation of the value of female chastity and the ideological negotiations at work in a monastic "discourse of enclosure"--a system that dictated that the female religious must remain inviolate, impermeable to either spiritual or physical invaders; she must, in the terms of Jerome, "become male." The discourse of enclosure, a system of signifying that frames and defines female roles within both secular and religious Anglo-Saxon literature, derives from an increasingly strict system of female inclaustration. It functions at once on a physical, spatial level and on a spiritual one: the woman is closed off, enclosed: she must maintain her body as an impenetrable fortress against evil intrusions. (660)

The very association between woman and the body held a similarly ambivalent status in medieval exegesis. Again with recourse to Jerome (c.342-420 CE), Caroline Walker Bynum explains that

> In the dominant theological tradition inherited by the later Middle Ages, male and female were contrasted and asymmetrically valued as soul and body. Such values suggested that men were like God in a sense women could never achieve, that women ought to sluff [sic] off femaleness in rising to meet the divine. In early Christianity we find some use of imagery that suggests that both men and women felt this way about gender. (177-78)

To be an Anglo-Saxon nun, then, required that physical impermeability be linked to a basic, sexually specific corporeality in a process that ideally led to a reversal of the religious woman's gender. Judith demonstrates a particularly abrupt version of such a gender shift when the heroine symbolically violates Holofernes with his own sword. This scene, parodying the rape of Judith that Holofernes had intended, momentarily confers upon the Bethulian woman a symbolic masculinity. But by the poem's end, Judith finally undergoes a gender elision rather than a simple reversal that works on literal, allegorical and tropological levels alike; such an erasure subsumes her into God, the Phallic signifier into whom all human gender difference ultimately disappears. Like Judith's flesh, Juliana's body remains chaste and completely closed to every form of evil, including

unwanted intercourse with Heliseus.[2] Juliana foregrounds the idea of the martyr as the Bride of Christ: a term conventionally used to describe both Ecclesia and the soul, but which does not apply as literally to Judith as it does to Africanus's daughter. Indeed, the text notes Juliana's intention to remain pure fore Cristes lufan 'for the love of Christ' (31a). The heroine chooses the same divine Spouse to whom all women religious are wed, to the extent that Heo pæs beornes lufan / fæste wiðhogde 'She firmly scorned the love of that man' Heliseus, Maximian's powerful subordinate who refuses to convert to Christianity: the one condition under which Juliana will consent to marry him (41b-42a). No gender reversal occurs here; at this point in the poem, Juliana retains biological femaleness as well as her female gender in relation to an unmistakably masculinized Husband.

Juliana's purity is also gendered female in its emphasis on impenetrability, the importance of which derives from the notion of the "open" female body as a potentially dangerous and disruptive threat to God's terrestrial order. In a discussion of purity that focuses on the Virgin Mary of the late medieval mystery cycles, Theresa Coletti provides a perspective on the breachable female flesh that illuminates considerations of Juliana's particular brand of virginity:

> Mary is invested with the powers and dangers of her anomalous body. Its integrity and impermeability identify that body as holy, with holiness understood as chaste marriage and physical purity; its putative signs of sexual pollution--disturbances at the margins--open it up to the 'dirt' that accompanies marital disorder--domestic strife, public shame, potential punishment. (70)

At the same time, however, Juliana's chastity, like the Virgin Mary's, involves her soul as well as her body. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne explains that virginity, as understood in the Middle Ages, simultaneously included and transcended the flesh in such a way that those

women who had lost their physical virginity could still attain a purity akin, though not equal, to that enjoyed by their intact sisters. Indeed,

> medieval theory of the three estates of the flesh (marriage, chastity, virginity) positions virginity as both unique and the best of the three in a graded hierarchy. Conceptually and pragmatically virginity is not as fixed and absolute a state as its images strive to suggest. Even for the virgo intacta, virginity is made both a matter of absolute bodily inscription and of negotiation: it can be undermined and negated by lustful thoughts or even by spiritual pride in being a virgin. (26)

Ideally, holistic chastity among women religious was to be maintained at all costs, even at the expense of one's life. Cynewulf's Juliana would therefore have provided an ideal model for Anglo-Saxon nuns to follow, especially during a period in which the Vikings routinely attacked convents, leaving their inhabitants raped and often murdered.[3] The nuns in the Coldingham community demonstrated that Juliana's spotlessness was certainly not as "unrealistically adamantine" as it appears to at least one modern critic (Wittig 41), or at least that the idea was not merely theoretical. These defiant sisters in Christ reportedly cut off their noses and lips to discourage Viking invaders from raping them; they succeeded, but were all subsequently burned alive inside their convent (Schulenburg 276).

Like the Coldingham nuns who remained chaste unto death, deeming death preferable to defilement, Juliana retains an unquestioned purity up to the time of her decapitation. Throughout Cynewulf's poem, Juliana stands as the virginal ideal that is gendered female in Jerome's writings: "Death came through Eve, but life has come through Mary. And thus the gift of virginity has been bestowed most richly upon women, seeing that it has had its beginning from a woman" (Blamires 76). Like St. Irenaeus, Jerome uses figural considerations in an argument that shifts the privilege of

chastity from men to women.[4] Erich Auerbach defines figural thinking as that which "establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfills the first" (53). In a figural sense, Juliana's unwavering immaculateness both mirrors and fulfills that of Mary, whose "union with the Holy Ghost," according to St. Bernard (c.996-c.1081), "recalled the sexual imagery of the Song of Songs and became symbolic of the soul's union with the Savior. Mary is Israel, the new Church, the Bride of God" (Anderson and Zinsser 216).

In contrast to Judith (in which the heroine, like Juliana, represents both Church and soul), Juliana does not offer any hints that the heroine uses any subversiveness, in either appearance or behavior, to further God's will. Her purity, then, in a sense excels that of both Mary and Judith: that she loses her life for the sake of her chastity confirms the superior nature of her obedience to the Father. Her martyrdom stems directly from her refusal to marry Heliseus, who does not know freondrædenne hu heo from hogde 'how she scorned his friendship' (34). The term freondrædenne 'friendship' carries connotations of marital love; it is a term that Cynewulf later uses to refer to Juliana's relationship with Christ, the Spouse whom she refuses to renounce. The poem directly contrasts Heliseus with God by noting that Juliana . . . to gode hæfde / freondrædenne fæste gestapelad 'had steadfastly fixed her friendship with God' (106b-107). This assertion emphasizes that Juliana's unwanted betrothal is fundamentally invalid, since the heroine has already consecrated her spirit and body to her heavenly Lord.

Indeed, such a relationship points toward a theme of inclusion and exclusion that permeates the text and solidifies the contrast between the forces of good and evil. Evil

cannot tolerate good, nor can good tolerate evil. Africanus and Holofernes, for example, both try to persuade Juliana to go through with the wedding: Juliana is only betrothed to Heliseus mid hyre fæder willan 'according to her father's will,' a fact sharply contrasting the malicious Africanus with Juliana's true Father in heaven and outlining that the pure Juliana, as the chaste soul or Ecclesia, can stomach no union with a diabolic man (32b). Despite Paul's assurance that a Christian's marriage to a pagan is not in itself evil and that, in fact, "the unbelieving husband is sanctified through his wife" (1 Cor. 7: 14), Juliana's refusal to wed Heliseus hints that the prefect is beyond redemption.

Not only is Heliseus beyond redemption, but, like Judith's Holofernes, the desiring male takes on diabolic proportions. In addition, so too does Juliana's father. Their speech particularly aligns them with the forces of evil; the sweetness of both men's words mimics the serpent's flattery of Eve in the Garden of Eden as it simultaneously masks a base maliciousness. But unlike Eve, Juliana is not fooled: she knows very well that appearances of good will can be deceiving. Following a meeting with Heliseus, during which the prefect tells Africanus that Juliana has greatly insulted him with a very public rejection of his betrothal, Africanus goes anræd ond yrepweorg, yrre gebolgen 'single-minded and wickedly antagonistic, enraged with anger' to speak with his daughter (90). Yet he begins his plea with the saccharine phrases "Ðu eart dohtor min seo dyreste / ond seo sweteste in sefan minum, / ange for eorpan, minra eagna leoht, / Iuliana!" 'You are my daughter, the dearest and the sweetest to my heart, the only one on earth, the light of my eyes, Juliana!' (93-96a) Although such language appears more appropriate to a lover than to a father, Africanus's mere words provide a diametric contrast to the true affection that Juliana's heavenly Spouse offers her. Cynewulf

describes Juliana as gleaw ond gode leof 'wise and dear to God' before her speech of defiance that precedes her father's command that she be beaten (131a).

Heliseus's first address to Juliana after her public act of rejection masks similarly malicious undertones. The text notes that Hy þa se æðeling ærest grette, / hire brydguma, blipum wordum: / "Min se swetesta sunnan scima, / Iuliana!" 'Then the nobleman greeted her first, her bridegroom, with cheerful words: 'My sweetest ray of the sun, Juliana!'' (164-67a). Such language both mirrors and condenses Africanus's greeting, with its references to Juliana's sweetness and brightness. Although the text does not note Heliseus's state of mind at this time, he becomes so angry following yet another of Juliana's rejections that he orders his true love stripped naked and flogged.

The diabolic forces that Heliseus and Africanus represent command various tortures of Juliana's Christian body: since her spirit remains impermeable in its refusal to renounce its promise of fidelity to Christ, it is hoped that the virgin's body will prove to be a penetrable conduit through which Juliana's defiance can be weakened. An examination of Michel Foucault's definition of torture sheds light on Juliana's experiences, from being hanged by the hair on a tree for hours, to being subjected to a bath of boiling lead. For Foucault, torture must fulfill three criteria. First, "it must produce a certain degree of pain, which may be measured exactly, or at least calculated, compared and hierarchized"; second, "this production of pain is regulated. Torture correlates the type of corporal effect, the quality, intensity, duration of pain, with the gravity of the crime, the person of the criminal, the rank of his victims"; third, "torture forms part of a ritual" in which "It must mark the victim: it is intended, either by the scar it leaves on the body, or by the spectacle that accompanies it, to brand the victim with

infamy" and, if it is public, it "must be spectacular, it must be seen by all almost as its triumph. The very excess of the violence employed is one of the elements of its glory: the fact that the guilty man [sic] should moan and cry out under the blows is not a shameful side-effect, it is the very ceremonial of justice being expressed in all its force" ([1995] 33-34).

According to Foucault's definition, the ordeals that Juliana undergoes cannot rightly be called torture--an appelation that a wide variety of critics nevertheless ascribe to Juliana's experiences. The heroine's physical subjugation fulfills, in fact, only the third criterion: although the text does not mention it explicitly, it makes sense that Heliseus would carry out Juliana's punishments in public, since Juliana publicly insults him. But the text does not reveal that Juliana experiences any pain whatsoever during any of her spectacular torments. She does not cry out, but this alone does not prove that she passes through her trials without experiencing some degree of suffering. Furthermore, Cynewulf makes his audience privy to Juliana's state of mind only once while her body is at the mercy of her abusers; at the same time, context does not make clear whether this revelation occurs before, during, or after the beating Africanus orders. Nevertheless, it is as close as one gets to understanding what Juliana might be undergoing overall. Africanus threatens his daughter because she rejects his and Heliseus's heathen gods; Cynewulf notes that

> Him seo unforhte ageaf ondsware
> purh gæstgehygd, Iuliana:
> "Næfre pu gelærest pæt ic leasingum
> dumbum ond deafum deofolgieldum,
> gæsta geniðlum gaful onhate,
> pam wyrrestum wites pegnum,
> ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor
> middangeardes ond mægenprymmes,

ond him anum to eal bipence,
pæt he mundbora min geweorpe,
helpend ond hælend wið hellsceapum." (147-57)

[The fearless one, Juliana, gave him an answer out of her spiritual insight: "You will never teach me so that I will promise tribute with deceit to deaf and dumb images of the devil, to spirits of hatred through the worst of punishments from your thanes; but I honor the Lord of glory and of majesty of this middle-earth and entrust everything to him alone, so that he has become my Protector, my Helper and Savior against the hell-foe."]

It is in fact Africanus who is tortured by his daughter's continuing defiance rather than the defiant one herself. After Juliana utters the speech above, her father can no longer tolerate his mental distress, to the point where Hy pa purh yrre Affricanus, / fæder fæmnan ageaf on feonda geweald / Heliseo 'In his anger, Africanus, her father, then gave the maiden into the control of the enemy Heliseus' (158-60a). Similarly, Heliseus undergoes mental torment when his hoped-for bride-to-be publicly insults him. Cynewulf notes that Ða se æpeling wearð yrre gebolgen, / firendædum fah, gehyrde pære fæmnan word 'The nobleman then became enraged with anger, hostile with wicked deeds: he heard that woman's words" (58-59). Juliana's absolute calm, her unfailing presence of mind, sets her apart from both the hreoh ond hygeblind 'fierce and mentally blind' Heliseus and her outraged father (61a). For the sake of Christ's beloved Juliana, the torturer / tortured relationship is reversed; the pure body and soul of the virgin Church remain unsullied.

During Juliana's imprisonment, a similar situation takes place. Despite her body's enclosure within the walls of Heliseus's prison, Juliana remains free in spirit. Once Juliana is incarcerated, Cynewulf notes that Hyre wæs Cristes lof / in ferðlocan fæste biwunden 'Christ's love was in her, wound firmly around her spirit' (233b-34). This occurs, paradoxically, because her heart is set free by another bond, stronger than

earthly prison walls: the mægen unbrice 'indestructible power' that is Jesus's love (235b). But, unlike Juliana's physical trials, Juliana's prison experience brings with it a period of significant tribulation. It is during this episode that Cynewulf notes Juliana's only bout with fear in the entire poem. Upon hearing the demon's advice that she abandon Christ "ond [Heliseus] godum cweman" 'and propitiate [Heliseus's] gods' (252b) in order to save her life, Juliana is immediately for pam færspelle / egsan geaclad 'terrified with fear at those dreadful tidings' (267b-68a).

For Ecclesia, the Bride of Christ, it is such a renunciation of God--not physical subjection--that is most akin to torture. Although Juliana was not fooled by either her malevolent father's or suitor's sweet words, she is baffled by the appearance of a celestial being who not only Hæfde engles hiw 'had the form of an angel' (244b), but who, she tells God, ". . . mec læreð from pe / on stearcne weg" 'counsels me away from you on a rough way' (281b-82a). God does not reveal to the heroine that the angel is, in fact, a demon in disguise; he simply advises her, "Forfoh pone frætgan ond fæste geheald, / oppæt he his siðfæt secge mid ryhte, / ealne from orde, hwæt his æpelu syn" 'Seize that perverse one and hold him securely until he rightly declares his journey, everything from the beginning, what his origin might be' (284-86). Exactly how Juliana seizes the devil is not known: that part of the manuscript is, unfortunately, lost. In the portion that remains, however, it appears that the seizure does not involve so much physical constraint of the demon as it does seizure by persistent lines of questioning, as Juliana coerces the demon to identify himself and to confess to his evil deeds.

Such a confession, during which the demon catalogues the afflictions he has wrought upon holy men from Christ to Saint Andrew, is its own form of torment. It is

indeed curiously close to the concept (however anachronistic) of the Church's ritual of confession as described by Foucault in The History of Sexuality.[5] Foucault writes that this ritual "became one of the West's most highly valued techniques for producing truth," in which

> One confesses--or is forced to confess. When it is not spontaneous or dictated by some internal imperative, the confession is wrung from a person by violence or threat; it is driven from its hiding place in the soul, or extracted from the body. Since the Middle Ages, torture has accompanied it like a shadow, and supported it when it could go no further: the dark twins. (59)

For Juliana as a figure of Ecclesia, confession becomes a means of asserting the Father's terrestrial domination through his agent, the Church. As the demon undergoes his interrogation, he is forced into revealing the truth about his origin and his deeds. But like Heliseus and Africanus, the devil is beyond redemption: confession, in this case, does not thus serve to absolve the confessor of guilt (the Church's ostensible reason for confession) but rather to instill a sense of terror into the unrepentant spirit. Indeed, he becomes forhtafongen, fripes orwena 'seized with fear, despairing of peace' when Juliana requires that he divulge who sent him to torment her (320).

That the demon experiences dread at this particular point is noteworthy in that it accompanies a reference to origins: a domain that, in the end, belongs exclusively to the Creator, God. Maliciousness is not a creation that Satan and his band are capable of bringing into existence ex nihilo. Joseph D. Wine notes Satan's "traditional role as anti-Christ, with no power to create (even evil) but the power to turn good to evil for his own purposes" (16). The demon divulges that ". . . min fæder . . . hellwarena cyning" 'my father . . . the king of hell-dwellers' (321a, 322a) sends his troop of evil warriors "pæt we soðfæstra / purh misgedwield mod oncyrren, / ahwyrfen from halor" 'so that we,

through perversion, may change the minds of the righteous' (325b-27a).[6] In effect, all of the evil that the demon and his brothers bring upon the faithful is a mere corruption of the original goodness that the Father brought into the world. The evil spirits are created beings whose scope of power is limited within the boundaries that God sets for evil's proliferation. Eschatologically speaking, the fallen angels are doomed; their efforts to assert their dominance are ultimately pathetic. They are always already dominated by a Father who permits them their free will but who continually reasserts his power throughout salvation history, a power that will emerge in its full infallibility when God eradicates evil at the end of time.

In this light, it becomes especially clear why the 'rough way' for Juliana lies in the mere suggestion that the omnipotent God might ask her to forsake him. On literal, allegorical, and tropological levels alike, this would constitute the heroine's self-nullification not even remotely akin to the merely physical extinction that martyrdom brings about. For Juliana, then, the prospect of physical death is not a cause for sorrow; on the contrary, the heroine is filled with joy at the news of her imminent beheading, since Juliana knows that her corporeal demise is also her ultimate form of spiritual liberty. The text comments that

> Ða wearð pære halgan hyht geniwad
> ond pæs mægdnes mod miclum geblissad,
> sippan heo gehyrde hæleð eahtian
> inwitrune, pæt hyre endestæf
> on gewindagum weorpan sceolde,
> lif alysed. (607-12a)

[Then the hope of the holy one was renewed and that woman's mind was greatly gladdened, after she learned from the warrior resolute in evil counsel that the end of her days of strife had to come about, her life let loose.]

The beginning of this passage recalls the phrase in Judith where the Bethulian woman prays before beheading Holofernes: in response to her supplication, Judith finds haligre hyht geniwod 'her hope in the Holy One renewed' (98a). Like Judith, Juliana is directly aligned with God through diction that aligns her sanctity with sanctity's very origin.[7] In addition, Juliana's sense of joy has its roots in ". . . wigena wyn" 'the Joy of warriors,' the God who is happiness itself (641a).[8] The demon, who appears one last time before the happy Juliana is taken away to her death, arrives, in contrast, in an extremely agitated state. The earm ond unlæd 'wretched and miserable' spirit (616a) addresses the multitude gathered for the heroine's beheading, asking for restitution for the torments that the imprisoned Juliana had brought upon him:

> "Lætað hy lapra leana hleotan
> purh wæpnes spor, wrecað ealdne nið,
> synne gesohte. Ic pa sorge gemon,
> hu ic bendum fæst bisga unrim
> on anre niht earfeða dreag,
> yfel ormætu." (622-27a)

> ["Let her obtain rewards for the injuries through the wound of a weapon, avenge old strife sought in sin. Then I remember in sorrow how I, secured in fetters, with boundless evil, suffered torments in one night, immeasurable evil."[9]]

Just as the soul's extinction does not stem from one's martyrdom, true misery does not originate in physical torment: it emanates rather from the present experience--or even the memories--of spiritual affliction like those that the distressed demon recalls. In addition, the perception of physical trial is intimately related to the state of one's soul: Juliana might be imprisoned and subjected to various corporeal violations, but her spiritual liberty--paradoxically stemming from her boundedness in and to Christ--sets her above the experience of physical distress. With this, Cynewulf makes clear the notion that the forces of evil cannot touch and stain a pure soul through the pure body that

houses it: indeed, because of this, the poem soundly affirms the logic behind the medieval ideal of virginity as involving a holy, humble state of mind as much as a state of physical chastity.

Indeed, virginity, as Juliana represents it in the poem, is presented as an ideal weapon for battling Satan's onslaughts. Whether representing Ecclesia (especially in the guise of the Church Militant) or the soul, Juliana wages a battle against the spiritual underworld that is a war to the death: not of the mortal body, as Heliseus and the demon understand it to be, but of the immortal soul that endures an eternal, living death of torment. Claude Schneider argues that Cynewulf writes against the pagan heroic tradition since Cynewulf "portrays Juliana's physical acts typically as passive" while he "consistently associated militant physical aggression with the villains of his story" (111, 112).[10] But the demon's description of his typical assault upon a faithful Christian, reminiscent of the spiritual warfare passage in Ephesians 6, in fact transforms rather than denies the importance of "militant physical aggression" in the spiritual realm:

> "Gif ic ænigne ellenrofne
> gemete modigne metodes cempan
> wið flanpræce, nele feor ponan
> bugan from beauwe, ac he bord ongean
> hefeð hygesnottor, haligne scyld,
> gæstlic guðreaf, nele gode swican,
> ac he, beald in gebede, bidsteal gifeð
> fæste on feðan, ic sceal feor ponan
> heanmod hweorfan, hropra bidæled,
> in gleda gripe, gehpu mænan,
> pæt ic ne meahte mægnes cræfte
> guðe wiðgongan, ac ic geomor sceal
> secan operne ellenleasran,
> under cumbolhagan, cempan sænran,
> pe ic onbryrdan mæge beorman mine,
> agælan æt gupe." (382-97a)

> ["If I meet any courageous man, a bold warrior of the Lord against a storm of arrows, he will not retreat far from that place, from that battle, but in opposition he, wise in his thinking, raises his board, his holy shield, his spiritual armor, will not turn away from God, but he, brave in prayer, makes a stand steadfast in that company; I must turn far away from there downcast, deprived of joys, in the grip of flames; must lament my cares, that I could not triumph in war by skill of power, but I, sorrowful, must seek another more lacking in courage beneath the war-hedge, an inferior warrior, whom I can inspire with evil leaven, hinder with war."[11]]

In effect, Juliana's virginity is itself a militant, physical form of aggression strong enough to cause the demon to retreat. Secular Old English literature consistently demonstrates retreat to be a shameful activity worse than death: the heroic ideal is, instead, to die beside one's lord.[12] While Juliana does not follow this ideal to the letter (in that the incarnated Christ has already died and risen again), she at least equals it in her imitation of her Lord's passion and death.[13] Like her "torture," Juliana's execution--Heliseus's final attempt to inscribe his mark of power upon her--is carried out in public: Cynewulf notes that Juliana teaches folc of firenum 'the people about sins' immediately prior to her decapitation (639a). Foucault explains the rationale behind the public execution:

> Its aim is not so much to re-establish a balance as to bring into play, as its extreme point, the dissymmetry between the subject who has dared to violate the law and the all-powerful sovereign who displays his strength. Although redress of the private injury occasioned by the offence must be proportionate, although the sentence must be equitable, the punishment is carried out in such a way as to give a spectacle not of measure, but of imbalance and excess; in this liturgy of punishment, there must be an emphatic affirmation of power and of its intrinsic superiority. And this superiority is not simply that of right, but that of the physical strength of the sovereign beating down upon the body of his adversary and mastering it: by breaking the law, the offender has touched the very person of the prince; and it is the prince--or at least those to whom he has delegated his force--who seizes upon the body of the condemned man and displays it marked, beaten, broken. ([1995] 48-49)

But Heliseus's perverse "liturgy of punishment" does not leave the intended mark of the prince--misery in death--upon Juliana's body. Instead, it produces the opposite result: Juliana's soul is alæded of lice to þam langan gefean / þurh sweordslege 'led away from her body to that eternal joy through a sword-blow' (670-71a). The sense that Cynewulf gives of Juliana's ultimate freedom at the moment of her death is diametrically opposed, for example, to that constraint of both body and spirit that Judith's diabolic Holofernes undergoes following his own decapitation:

> Læg se fula leap
> gesne beæftan, gæst ellor hwearf
> under neowelne næs ond ðær genyðerad wæs,
> susle gesæled syððan æfre,
> wyrmum bewunden, witum gebunden,
> hearde gehæfted in hellebryne
> æfter hinsiðe. (111b-17a)

> [Afterwards, the foul trunk lay deprived of life; the spirit turned elsewhere beneath the cliff of the abyss and was brought low there, fettered in torment ever after, wound about with worms, bound with punishments, severely imprisoned in hellfire after his departure.[14]]

Although Cynewulf does not describe Heliseus's demise in equal detail, his death nevertheless contains resonances of the Assyrian chieftain's fate. Along with thirty-four other warriors, Heliseus perishes on a sea-voyage: the men die hropra bidæled, / hyhta lease helle sohton 'deprived of joys, sought hell without hope' (681b-82).

While Holofernes's flesh rots and Heliseus's corpse is lost at sea, Juliana's body is given a hero's burial:

> Ungelice wæs
> læded lofsongum lic haligre
> micle mægne to moldgræfe,
> pæt hy hit gebrohton burgum in innan,
> sidfolc micel. Þær siððan wæs
> geara gongum godes lof hafen
> prymme micle op pisne dæg

mid peodscipe. (688b-95a)

> [In a different way the body of the holy one was led with songs of praise by a great host to its grave, so that they brought it into that stronghold, a great number of people. Since then, with the passage of years, the praise of God has been raised up there, great splendor, until this day, within the nation.]

That the martyr's remains receive such honor is a testament to the impenetrable strength--and the crucial importance--of pure, impermeable virgin flesh in the earthly struggle against evil. Nevertheless, the body--and, it seems, the female body in particular, given its intimate medieval association with corporeality--is also one of the three potential sources of sin ("the world, the flesh, and the devil") over which Juliana triumphs (Bzdyl [1985] 170). From here, one treads the slippery slope of scapegoating the flesh-bound woman as "a definite hazard" to men's souls, as certain tenth- and eleventh-century monastic reformers claimed her to be (Schulenburg 279).

Such ambivalence toward the virginal body led these reformers to recommend strict enclosure for the Anglo-Saxon Brides of Christ who attempted, more or less successfully, to emulate Juliana's example. While enclosure was ostensibly motivated, in part, by the need to protect the lives of women so often endangered by invading Vikings, the concept served mainly to increase the Church's control over a dwindling number of autonomous (and, within that, an increasing number of secularized) convents and double monasteries. Indeed,

> the few women's houses that survived the invasions and secularizations became the objects of increasing disfavor by churchmen of the reform period. The activities of nuns were looked on with suspicion and were closely monitored. Moral abuses and scandals in the convents became a source of concern for the reform councils. A number of these cases underscore the close relationship of indigency and "moral lapse" to the reformers' gender-specific requirement of strict enclosure. In fact, in some places, where nuns were forced to break enclosure because of economic hardship, those convents were described as <u>lupanaria</u> or brothels. (282)

Despite the legendary example of the Coldingham nuns who preferred self-mutilation and death to rape, the Church was evidently not readily to concede that its women were capable of the thoroughgoing holiness that their collective Spouse exemplified. In this context, then, Juliana offers a noteworthy commentary on the usefulness of enclosure for the sake of a nun's physical and spiritual safety: for the truly pure, cloistering is neither a desirable--nor necessary--exercise. Whether intended to keep the pure in or the wicked out, surrounding the consecrated woman with a physical barrier serves no positive end for her. The Vikings can enter such a fortress as readily as a disembodied demon. Temptations do not respect prison walls; consequently, as long as she is alive, the nun remains susceptible to the onslaughts of sin, or of the sinful.

Pure virgin flesh might be the ultimate weapon against sin, but woman's fundamental fleshliness--and the flesh's relative baseness compared with the masculine soul--places her in a catch-22 situation. Not only does she herself risk a likely fall into sin because of her very nature, but worse, she also risks leading others into temptation's lair, therefore putting more than just her own soul in danger. Indeed, for the unwary victim, the flesh becomes the channel through which evil travels and does its damage. The demon explains to Juliana,

> "Ic pæs wealles geat
> ontyne purh teonan; bið se torr pyrel,
> ingong geopenad, ponne ic ærest him
> purh eargfare in onsende
> in breostsefan bitre geponcas
> purh mislice modes willan,
> pæt him sylfum selle pynceð
> leahtras to fremman ofer lof godes,
> lices lustas." (401b-09a)

> ["I open the wall-gate through hostilities; when the tower is pierced, the entrance opened, then I, through the flight of arrows, first send forth inside him, into his heart, cruel thoughts through the various desires of his mind, so that it seems better to him to commit sins, the desire of the body, above the praise of God."]

Such strange Church logic that sees the impenetrable woman as responsible for the welfare of this spiritually-unprotected man underlies Jocelyn Wogan-Browne's sardonic observation: "From the celebration of the exhumed intact bodies of Anglo-Saxon virgin princesses to medieval and later narratives of virgin martyrs, the best virgin, it seems, is always a dead virgin" (24). This information adds a truly discomfiting resonance to the fact that the immaculate Juliana, impervious to Heliseus's attempts at heinous physical torture, is heartened at the news of her impending execution. Indeed, Juliana emphasizes the unsettling extent to which the female body--no matter how unsullied--remains a site of great ambivalence for the Church.

Chapter 3: Elene: The Complicit Christian versus the Abject Jewish Body

The two preceding chapters have focused on the portrayals of Judith and Juliana, poetic figures who can clearly be read as either Ecclesia--Christ's mystical body--or the soul battling the forces of evil. In both texts considered so far, these unimpeachably holy heroines find themselves subjected to absolutely diabolic malevolence. Old English poetic conventions, such as the use of light and dark imagery, leave the diametric opposition between God's and Satan's earthly agents unmistakably clear. What has remained unproblematic to this point is the notion that evil abets its own destruction: villains like Holofernes and Heliseus "get what they deserve." Both Cynewulf and the Judith-poet create literary antagonists who suffer not just violent deaths, but who --even worse--undergo excruciating mental and spiritual torture while still alive. Moreover, these afflictions outlive their transitory flesh to become eternal torment.

In Cynewulf's Elene, the evil that creates its own terrible perpetuity is intimately associated with the Jewish people. Here, God's primary terrestrial enemy is no longer a vicious, idol-worshipping people like Judith's Assyrians or Maximian's Church-destroying citizens: it is, instead, an apparently peaceable people nevertheless marked with guilt on account of Christ's crucifixion. Elene's particular good / evil binary relegates the Hebrew nation to a space in which its people are feminized--that is, rendered inferior and subordinate--in relation to their Gentile (especially Anglo-Saxon) descendants. Unlike Judith, whose gendered subordination renders her a victorious agent of the Phallic Father (whose masculine-gendered power is reinscribed through her success), the Hebrews are forever defeated, humiliated, damned. Caroline Walker Bynum's observation that patristic exegesis linked the spirit with the male and the body

with the female, as mentioned in Chapter 1, receives reformulation and extension in Elene to include the masculinized Christian in the former category and the feminized Jew in the latter. In other words, the Christian comes to represent the dominant male / spirit, while the Jew is identified with the female / body requiring subjection under the Law of the Father. Within this context, Elene becomes a providentially complicit figure mandated to strong-arm the Jewish heretic into doctrinal line.

Indeed, Cynewulf's portrayal of Elene contains a disturbing edge that Judith does not. While both women participate in acts of violence--Elene in torture, Judith in murder --that the poems justify within the context of salvation history, Elene perpetrates punishment upon an apparently defenseless body. The same argument can certainly be made regarding the woefully-drunken Holofernes, who lacks both the mental and physical wherewithal to deflect Judith's fatal sword-blows: Gefeol ða wine swa druncen / se rica on his reste middan, swa he nyste ræda nanne / on gewitlocan 'Then the powerful one fell so drunk with wine in the middle of his resting place that he did not know any sensible counsel in the locks of his mind'(67b-69a).[1] With recourse to the notion of evil as the instrument of its own destruction, however, it becomes evident that the diabolic Holofernes is responsible for his own death: such an understanding makes Judith's sword-blow little more than a formality. In a somewhat different vein, the text of Juliana reveals that the death at sea of the equally diabolic Heliseus comes about purh pearlic prea 'as a violent rebuke' (678a). This explanation not only signals a cause-and-effect relationship between Heliseus's former deeds and his demise, but it shows that it is God--the very antithesis of evil, rather than evil itself--who inflicts this punishment upon the transgressor.

In Elene, then, the significance of Judas's torture warrants investigation in light of these sinners' fates. Unlike either Heliseus or Holofernes, Judas takes on a signification absent in the other two characters' singularly satanic configurations. Judas's name, according to Thomas D. Hill, "obviously suggests the 'Judaei,' and the Judas of the New Testament was traditionally interpreted as a type of the unbelieving Jews" (211).[2] Nevertheless, despite Elene's blatant anti-Semitism, the text does not produce a wholesale conflation between Jew and devil. Nevertheless, the Jewish people are revealed to be, throughout history, the primary instrument the devil uses in his manifold attempts to thwart Christianity's advance. Upon his conversion, for example, the emperor Constantine learns

> hwær ahangen wæs heriges beorhtme
> on rode treo rodora waldend
> æftstum purh inwit, swa se ealda feond
> forlærde ligesearwum, leode fortyhte,
> Iudea cyn, pæt hie God sylfne
> ahengon, herga fruman. Þæs hie in hynðum sculon
> to widan feore wergðu dreogan. (205-211)

> [where the Guardian of the heavens was hanged on the rood-tree to the acclaim of an army, out of the guile of envy as the old enemy seduced them through wiles, led astray the nation, the race of the Jews, so that they hanged God himself, the Creator of armies. Because of this they must, in humiliation, forever endure damnation.]

In other words, Elene presents the Jews as a collectively irredeemable people whom an unquestionably Christian God condemns for eternity. Elene first greets the Hebrew throng with a litany of evils that, she says, they themselves (rather than their ancestors) perpetrated upon the Son of God "in pæt ærre lif eowres cynnes" 'in that earlier life of your race' (305). Here, Elene mixes past offense with contemporary responsibility in a way that introduces the notion of a collective Jewish culpability that

transcends time: indeed, salvation history's time scheme--as well as its schedule of punishments--defies linearity. The crowd Elene addresses could not possibly have been alive at the time of the crucifixion: the text states that the narrative takes place 233 years after Christ's birth.[3] Yet Elene's second-person attribution of guilt solidly implicates her audience in its distant forefathers' sins.

Furthermore, as Constantine's lessons teach him, God holds both the right to decide who deserves punishment and what form any retribution might take. In the poem, Elene plays Ecclesia to Judas's "Judaei": traditionally, critics have not hesitated to equate this historical figure with the Church, especially since her portrayal as both queen and (Constantine's) mother tightly reinforces the allegorical connection.[4] It thus becomes incumbent upon Elene to castigate the Jewish nation in God's name. But Elene is not only subject to the Father's will: she travels to the Holy Land upon the express command of her son. Furthermore, Constantine does not send his mother overseas with orders to punish the Hebrews. The text states that Elene is asked georne secan / wigena preate hwær se wuldres beam, / halig under hrusan, hyded wære, / æðelcyninges rod 'to seek eagerly with that band of warriors where the tree of glory, holy under the earth, might be hidden, the cross of the noble King' (216b-219a). But just as the devil's malicious intentions, in Cynewulf's formulation, become a fundamental part of the Jewish psyche, so too are God's, Constantine's and Elene's desires inextricably linked. As a result, Elene's mission to find the True Cross simultaneously enables her to carry out her allegorical role as the Church Militant.[5] Using diction reminiscent of that used by the Judith-poet, Cynewulf notes that Wæs seo eadhreðige Elene gemyndig, / priste on gepance, peodnes willan 'The blessed Elene, bold in thought, was mindful of the will

of that prince' (266-67), the royal in question being a neat conflation of God and Constantine. Indeed, once the True Cross is found and Judas converts, Elene thanks the Father pæs hire se willa gelamp / purh bearn godes 'because her will had come to pass for her through the Son of God' (962b-63a).

Compared with Judith, another Ecclesia figure, Elene might appear to be less intimately aligned with God. The Judith-poet foregrounds both the heroine's beauty and wisdom as emanating from a holy source; Cynewulf, while repeatedly emphasizing Elene's great sagacity (which in itself closely approximates Elene to God), makes but one reference to the queen's physical appearance: Elene is . . . pa leoflic wif 'The lovely woman' (286b). In addition, the poet does not explicitly align this beauty with God. Absent are the multifarious allusions to the physical as well as spiritual radiance that semantically incorporate Judith (and, to a lesser extent, Juliana) into the Father's power. Indeed, Cynewulf virtually disembodies Elene. Largely disengaged from her corporeality, Elene does not inhabit the realm of the feminine body: the queen, as Ecclesia, instead occupies the sphere of the masculine soul.

As a result, the allegorized Church, unlike the physically-bound Jew, bears a close resemblance to the unincarnated Father. Elene's divine similitude makes complete her complicity with, and empowerment through, the Phallic signifier complete. As long as Elene's will remains one with her prince / Prince, her power is absolute: she is never threatened with rape or death, like Judith and Juliana; in other words, she never has need to fear feminization at the hands of any mortal being. Nevertheless, like both the Bethulian warrior and the martyr, she is feminized in relation to the Father, who wields permanently incorruptible power and valorizes her actions carried out in his own name.

Indeed, the Father requires the feminized Elene--the agent to whom he grants Phallic favor and upon whom he, through Constantine, confers Phallic power--to uphold his hegemonic legitimacy on earth.

Such power creates its own rules for identifying who merits the privileges of the divine realm and who is to be excluded from it, who is to be rewarded and who is to be punished. In Elene, Cynewulf foregrounds the notion of punishment as a physical experience with his use of an approach-to-battle type scene in his vignette describing the advance of Constantine's envoys into Hebrew territory.[6] Cynewulf firmly establishes that a form of terrestrial spiritual warfare is at hand once the angel explains to Constantine that "Mid pys beacne ðu / on pam frecnan fære feond oferswiðesð, / geletest lað werod" 'With this sign you will overcome the enemy on that terrible expedition, hinder the hateful troop' (92b-94a). Clearly, it is not just physical conquest that God desires, but the wholesale submission of the "hateful troop" to his will. In the war for souls, the sign of the cross becomes as formidable a weapon as any sword. That Constantine sends his mother with a band of men armed to the teeth simply to find the True Cross, however, foregrounds not only the kind of reception that the emperor anticipates from the Jews, but also the necessity of their physical (and not just spiritual) subjection. On the sailing ships, Đær wæs on eorle eðgesyne / brogden byrne ond bill gecost, / geatolic guðscrud, grimhelm manig, / ænlic eoforcumbul 'To a man there was clearly visible linked byrnie and excellent sword, magnificent coat of mail, many a visored helmet, the peerless boar-image' (256-259a).[7] The Jews, a people associated with the body, would respond most readily to Ecclesia's demands through the subjection of their inferior and subservient flesh.

The Christian God oversees earthly and heavenly kingdoms from which the Jew must be permanently excluded because of his implication in Christ's scourging and murder.[8] Elene does not subject Judas--who represents all Hebrews throughout salvation history--to starvation in a dry pit simply because he refuses to divulge the location of the True Cross. It is in fact because of the transgenerational homicidal guilt encoded in his body--in his very genetic makeup--that Judas is brought to justice: a transgression upon the Prince's flesh requires that the representative offender suffer physically himself. But in this light, Judas's corporeal torture does not appear excessive: indeed, the Jews are perpetually guilty of regicide, having killed "bearn wealdendes, / cyning anboren . . . / æðelinga ord" 'the Son of the Ruler, the only-begotten King . . . the Best of princes' (391b-93a).[9]

Cynewulf notes that, while in the pit, Judas

> siomode in sorgum VII nihta fyrst
> under hearmlocan hungre gepreatod,
> clommum beclungen, ond pa cleopigan ongan
> sarum besylced on pone seofeðan dæg,
> meðe ond meteleas --mægen wæs geswiðrod. (694-98)

> [abided in sorrows for a period of seven nights in prison, tormented by hunger, bound in fetters, and then he began to call out, exhausted with pain on the seventh day, weary and without food; his strength was diminished.]

Despite what appears to be a relatively lenient sentence, Judas's body, infused with ancestral culpability, cannot withstand the punishment it receives. Because Judas is flesh--always already feminized and, furthermore, subjected to the devil's whims since a long time previously--the prisoner weakens and cries out for mercy when the awesome Church seeks to leave its mark upon his body.

Here, a comparison with Juliana is useful. Despite the apparent lack of Foucauldian torture in that text, both it and Elene contain characters through whose flesh enemy forces attempt to abet their spiritual subjugation. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Juliana's Christian body becomes a text upon which the pagan Heliseus desires to inscribe his influence. Because he cannot accomplish this wish through marriage and sexual intercourse with the object of his desire, Heliseus orders his henchmen--extensions of the chieftain's allegorical body--to bring his desire to bear upon Juliana. Such an attempt at physical inscription and conquest, however, ultimately fails. What Heliseus believes to be a permanent sign of his success--Juliana's headless body--is ultimately of no use to him. Juliana's soul is freed from her body; Heliseus perishes on the sea and his spirit travels to hell. Through a feminine, Christian body, Juliana's soul wins eternal salvation, while Heliseus's masculine, pagan flesh merits perpetual damnation. Juliana, like Judith, clearly establishes the notion that the Christian God, Church and soul unfailingly dominate the pagan body. Furthermore, both poems reveal that the Christian body, feminized in relation to God but not to the heathen, can be itself used to feminize an apparently "masculine" heathen regime in the Father's name.

Faced with the Church's might, heathen figures like Heliseus and Holofernes prove to be spiritually as well as physically feminized. Similarly, the powers of the regicidal Jew are, in Elene, revealed to be minuscule in relation to those possessed by God's earthly agent. Indeed, Judas's punishment consists of the agonizing mental torture to which Elene subjects him at least as much as it involves his physical torment in the pit. The text notes that Judas, taken . . . to gisle 'as a hostage' (600a),

> --him wæs geomor sefa,
> hat æt heortan, ond gehwæðres wa,

> ge he heofonrices hyht swa mode
> ond pis ondwearde anforlete,
> rice under roderum, ge he ða rode ne tæhte. (627b-31)
>
> [was sad-minded, hot about the heart, and then both the hope of heaven's kingdom would darken for him and he would forsake this present kingdom under the heavens if he did not point out the cross.]

Like the . . . sorgcearig 'sorrowful' (Juliana 603a) Heliseus who sentences Juliana to death or the sweorcendferhðe 'dark-spirited' (Judith 269a) Assyrian thanes facing massacre at the hands of the Bethulians, Judas does not possess the spiritual joy that characterizes the Christian warrior or martyr. Even so, the devout soul does not automatically possess this divine gift. A fearful Judith asks God to help her avenge her people "pæt me ys pus torne on mode, / hate on hreðre minum" 'because there is such grief in my mind, hot in my heart' (93b-94a), and only then receives the inspiration she needs to behead Holofernes.[10]

Judas's anguish, however, goes unassuaged. Elene has just told him what consequences he would suffer were he to continue concealing the Cross's location; Judas responds directly to these literal threats without having any relief in sight. Clearly, the kind of understanding that Judas demonstrates contributes to his torment. Hill offers an exegetical explanation for Judas's particular mode of comprehension:

> While patristic and early medieval speculation on the problem of the unregenerate Jews is extensive and involves some quite complex problems, one of the central themes of this literature is that the Jews rejected Christ because they were bound to the letter of the law and were unable to go beyond a purely literal understanding of the Old Testament. Thus they expected a political rather than a spiritual Messiah, and chose to hold to the letter of the law rather than accept its fulfillment in Christ. It is this contrast between the letter that kills and the spirit that gives life, which informs the stylized conflict between Elene and the Jews. (212, emphasis mine)

The extent to which the Jews misunderstand what Elene asks of them is revealed through their inability to answer her questions. Starting with a group of three thousand Jewish men, Elene addresses a circumlocutory line of questioning. She does not ask them straightforwardly where the Cross is located yet expects them to comprehend her meaning. Unable to tell the queen where the cross lay,

> Eodan pa on geruman reonigmode
> eorlas æcleawe, egesan gepreade,
> gehðum geomre, georne sohton
> pa wisestan wordgeryno,
> pæt hio pære cwene oncweðan meahton
> swa tiles swa trages, swa hio him to sohte. (320-25)

> [The men skilled in law then went away gloomy-minded, tormented by terror, sorrowful in anxiety, eagerly sought the wisest in mystic sayings so that they could answer the queen whether for good or evil, as she had sought from them.]

Elene subsequently begins her address to a reduced throng of one thousand men by berating them: "Hwæt, ge witgena / lare onfengon, hu se liffruma / in cildes had cenned wurde" 'Listen, you received the teaching of prophets, how the Giver of life was born in the form of a child' (334b-36). In turn, she cites the Old Testament prophecies foretelling Christ's incarnation, knowledge with which the wisest of the Jews would certainly have been familiar. The poem clearly emphasizes that the Jews are not responding out of a sense of ignorance about their history. Yet when the one thousand, like the three thousand, fail to respond to Elene's request, they find a band of five hundred men whose subsequent, unanimous response still suggests a baffling lack of comprehension:

> Hie pa anmode ondsweredon:
> "Hwæt, we Ebreisce æ leornedon,
> pa on fyrndagum fæderas cuðon
> æt godes earce, ne we geare cunnon
> purh hwæt ðu ðus hearde, hlæfdige, us

eorre wurde. We ðæt æbylgð nyton
ðe we gefremedon on pysse folcscere,
peodenbealwa, wið pec æfre." (396-403)

[Then they answered with one voice: "Listen, we learned the law of the Hebrews that our fathers knew in days gone by, on God's ark; we do not readily understand why you, lady, have been so severely angry with us. We do not know that transgression, terrible evils, that we ever performed in this nation against you."]

Jackson J. Campbell observes that "When the Jews reply somewhat pitifully that they do not know how they have offended her (pec 403) and aroused her anger, we realize that it is true that no transgression (æbylgð 401) has been committed against her personally, but that against the community of Christian believers and against the Christian God evil was done" (237-38). Campbell here alludes to Elene's figural significance, a move that foregrounds the word / Word (the embodied Christ) as a Christian prerogative not open to those outside the faith. It is against Elene as the typological figure of the Church that the Jews have sinned: Elene's roundabout mode of inquiry "accentuates the contrast between the literalism of the Jews, whose wisdom is limited to the letter and the law, and the spirituality of Elene, who understands the mystery which fulfilled the law" (Hill 213).

The literal understanding of the Law that the Jews possess is intimately linked, in the person of Judas, with physicality. Patristic exegesis often used the relationship between Jew and body as a means of deprecating Hebrew believers. For instance, "Augustine himself characterized the Jews' failure in his own time to recognize and accept Christ as a failure of spirituality. They clung to a carnal way of reading and thinking, looked for an earthly messiah, and rejected the Son of God when he came to them, both unable and unwilling to recognize him" (Whatley 555). An extension of this logic concludes that Ecclesia can most easily triumph over the Jew through the subjection

of his body. This notion diametrically contrasts with the relationship between a diabolic oppressor and a sinless Christian victim: Juliana, for instance, triumphs over Heliseus by wielding the spiritual armor that her impenetrable body, in a sense, becomes. But because the Jewish spirit is willfully blind, it is through Judas's weak, hunger-marked flesh--flesh that dominates the will--that Ecclesia can most effectively win his soul for God.

The disembodied Elene cannot fail to triumph over the Jew's body: she is the victor of an already predetermined contest in which the Hebrew nation must to widan feore wergðu dreogan 'forever endure damnation' (211). Cynewulf's epilogue eschatologically reinforces this assertion with mention that arleasra sceolu 'the band of impious people'--the same term referring to the Jews at line 835a--will burn in hell after the Final Judgment (1301b).[11] Indeed, in their refusal to acknowledge and accept the spirit of the (Christian) Law, the carnal Jewish people pay the ultimate price: eternal containment. Jonathan Dollimore defines (but later challenges) "the so-called subversion / containment problematic wherein repressive laws are seen not only to defeat us coercively . . . but to inhabit us in ways which ensure our defeat prior to, in ways other than, direct force. Resistance from the margins seems doomed to replicate internally the strategies, structures, and even the values of the dominant" (81). Judith Butler's deconstructive description of the mechanics of Phallic power (as outlined in Chapter 1) can be handily applied to the subversion / containment problematic: the dominant requires the oppression of some identified Other to ensure the exercise of its own power, an exercise which, in turn, upholds the dominant's legitimacy. But, in the end, such a deconstructive maneuver leaves the power imbalance between the dominant and the

oppressed not just intact, but increasingly pronounced in an upward spiral of persecution. All of the preceding textual discussions demonstrate that power in Old English religious poetry resides in--or rather is--the omnipotent Phallic Christian God himself.[12] Resistance to such an indomitable force is futile; containment is the perpetual condition of the heathen (including the Jewish) self.

Containment, however, does not simply mean incorporation. There is no place for generations of corporeally-bound, regicidal Hebrews within the spiritual Body of Christ. Consequently, they are eternally banished to a hell that is both spiritually and physically removed from a monolithically Christian heaven:

> Gode no syððan
> of ðam morðorhofe in gemynd cumað,
> wuldorcyninge, ac he worpene beoð
> of ðam heaðuwylme in hellegrund,
> torngeniðlan. (1302b-06a)

> [Never afterwards will they come into the remembrance of God, the King of glory, out of that place of torment, but they, his bitter foes, will be cast from that fierce flame into the abyss of hell.]

Despite Elene's eschatological emphasis on perpetual damnation for the people of the Old Law, the poem equally promulgates an alternative for the Jew: his erasure, an effacement that occurs upon his conversion. Elene's preoccupation with the Jewish conversion in fact reflects the English clergy's concern with maintaining its foothold on the island's soil.[13] Cynewulf's literacy, especially in Latin, "makes it a virtual certainty" that he was a clergyman (Fulk 3). The probability that the poet partook of the religious life makes it likely that his intended audience consisted, at the very least, of other monks.

But it is quite probable that Cynewulf also had a much wider audience in mind; indeed, Catherine A. Regan notes that

> The seventh and eighth centuries remain one of the most stirring chapters in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, for in this period England's tremendous missionary zeal carried the Christian faith far beyond its own shores. The accomplishments of individuals such as Willibrord and Boniface are well known, but equally significant was the absorption of the entire nation in this evangelical effort. Cynewulf was writing in the shadow of this great missionary spirit. (254)

Within this wider historical context, all Anglo-Saxon Christians were to identify with Elene and her efforts to colonize the world through Christian evangelism.[14] The importance of evangelism to the English Church began at home: any means of consolidating a clerical grasp upon disparate peoples was an advantage to the English Church.

It is no accident, then, that the poem begins with a conversion--Constantine's--the process of which Cynewulf describes in detail. Oddly, the emperor's outnumbered forces become a formidable army while their leader is still a pagan. Although Constantine sees the vision of the cross, he does not understand its significance, beyond its immediate utility, until after his instruction and baptism. Varda Fish explains that

> In Elene, the cross which Constantine first perceived merely as a physical "beacen" [sign] with no spiritual meaning, becomes for Elene a symbol of spiritual reality. This progression from literal to spiritual perception follows the gradual transformation of the cross itself from a physical object into a symbol and finally into a tree in which the literal "beacen" and its meaning are simultaneously perceived to reveal the idea behind the Christian mystery. The discovery of the spiritus behind the littera which is described in terms of a religious conversion does not involve the rejection of the Letter. The quest is for a collaboration of the Old Law with the New, for a simultaneity of the littera with the spiritus, the "tacen" [token] with its meaning, which are represented in the cross which is a symbol of the meeting point of the littera with the spiritus, body and soul, the visual object with its mystery. (4)

In other words, the cross signifies to the uninitiated Constantine "the spirit that gives life," which contrasts with "the letter that kills" only in a most literal sense (Hill 212).

Unlike the Hebrews, however, the pagan chieftain's (and his army's) feminization relative to other earthly forces is only temporary, and ultimately illusory: Constantine is always already privileged with divine favor that renders his terrestrial power unstoppable. In the Father's eyes he is a heathen, but he is not a Jew marked with the unpardonable sin of Christ's murder. Even in his ignorance of biblical teachings, the emperor is associated with the non-Jew (if not, right away, the Christian) in a way that highlights the Hebrew's specially despised status in relation to the Phallic Christian God.

Elene, in fact, sets forth a scheme of divine favor that involves three categories : Christian, non-Jewish pagan and Jew. In a telling twist to the conventional, binary "sheep and goat" division of humanity on Judgment Day, Cynewulf describes how God . . . on preo dæleð / in fyres feng folc anra gehwylc, / para pe gewurdon on widan feore / ofer sidne grund 'will divide all the people into three in the embrace of the fire, of those who ever lived upon the wide earth' (1286b-1289a). The poet's categories, corresponding with those mentioned above, include Soðfæste . . . 'Those steadfast in truth' (1289b); Synfulle . . . / mane gemengde . . . / hæleð higegeomre 'The sinful, mingled with evil, sad men' (1295b-97a); and finally the awyrgede womsceaðan . . . / lease leodhatan . . . / arleasra sceolu 'cursed sinners, deceitful tyrants, the band of impious people' (1299-1301).[15]

Since the basic evil that the Jew embodies cannot be tolerated in the Christian heaven, the Father must violently expel the Christ-killer from his presence. Indeed, Phallic order requires not only the Hebrew's feminization, but his ultimate abjection. Julia Kristeva explains abjection as follows:

> The abject is not an ob-ject facing me, which I name or imagine. Nor is it an ob-jest, an otherness ceaselessly fleeing in a systematic quest of desire.

> What is abject is my correlative, which, providing me with someone or something else as support, would allow me to be more or less detached and autonomous. The abject has only one quality of the object--that of being opposed to I. (1)

The abject is, in other words, simultaneously Other and not-Other. Although Elene portrays the Jews in all their fundamental opposition to God, Truth, and the Christian, the text, at the same time, notes the Hebrews' fundamental relatedness to these three elements. Here, Fish's argument that the poem's take on conversion involves abetting the union of littera and spiritus is not without validity. In addition, Elene does not separate the followers of the Old Law from adherents to the New Law so cleanly. An anachronistic detail from the text clearly illustrates this notion: the tortured Judas is presented as a brother of the protomartyr Stephen. While the narrative purportedly takes place in CE 233, Stephen was stoned to death c.CE 35. Hill argues that the poem presents the two men as contemporaries in order to point out a crucial link, rather than an absolute schism, between the Christian and Jewish faiths (211).[16]

Nevertheless, such an observation does not render the conversion of the Jew as simple a matter as Fish makes it out to be. The poem reveals that the Father--through Elene--desires Judas's final exclusion from heaven at the same time that he desires the wise man's inclusion in the Christian fold. Either choice, however, requires the abjection of Judas's Hebrew self. The Phallic ambivalence evident here leaves Judas in a no-win situation: he and his people must undergo the erasure of their Jewishness. Judas's and his forefathers' complicity with the forces of evil makes the Hebrew nation repulsive to God and reflexively, violently forces it out of the spiritual Body of Christ. Indeed, Kristeva notes that

> It is . . . not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite. The traitor, the liar, the criminal with a good conscience, the shameless rapist, the killer who claims he is a savior. . . . Any crime, because it draws attention to the fragility of the law, is abject, but premeditated crime, cunning murder, hypocritical revenge are even more so because they heighten the display of such fragility. He who denies morality is not abject; there can be grandeur in amorality and even in crime that flaunts its disrespect for the law--rebellious, liberating, and suicidal crime. Abjection, on the other hand, is immoral, sinister, scheming, and shady: a terror that dissembles, a hatred that smiles, a passion that uses the body for barter instead of inflaming it, a debtor who sells you up, a friend who stabs you. . . . (4)

Such an expanded definition of the abject fits Elene's Judas perfectly. The poem foregrounds a Hebrew identity that is based on outright lies: specifically, on a flagrant denial of the Jews' role in the crucifixion. Judas tells how his father Simon spoke of his self-exoneration from the Jews' sin, a speech that simultaneously demonstrates just how premeditated the crucifixion was:

> "'Næfre ic pa gepeahte pe peos peod ongan
> secan wolde, ac ic symle mec
> asced para scylda, nales sceame worhte
> gaste minum. Ic him georne oft
> pæs unrihtes ondsæc fremede,
> ponne uðweotan æht bisæton,
> on sefan sohton hu hie sunu meotudes
> ahengon, helm wera, hlaford eallra
> engla ond elda, æðelust bearna.'" (468-76)

["'I was never willing to pursue the plan that this people began, but I always separated myself from those guilty deeds, not at all worked shame upon my spirit. Often, I earnestly carried out opposition to them for that injustice when the elders held council, sought in their minds how they might hang the Son of God, the Protector of men, the Lord of all angels and men, the Noblest of sons.'"]

Within this context, Judas's starvation can be understood to purge him of his Jewish identity. Such physical purging effects the elimination of Judas's physicality, rendering

the tortured one fit to receive baptism: a ritual marking his penitent separation from carnal Jewishness necessary for his incorporation into Christianity.

Judas's conversion is a process that begins well before Ecclesia sacramentally subsumes the wise man to herself in God's name. Judas beseeches God to show him where the True Cross lies hidden; smoke suddenly rises up from the ground in answer to his supplication. His spirits lifted, Judas confesses his belief in the Son of God, asks that his sins be forgiven, and finally requests that he be permitted dwell in heaven:

> "Nu ic pe, bearn godes, biddan wille,
> weoroda willgifa, nu ic wat pæt ðu eart
> gecyðed ond acenned allra cyninga prym,
> pæt ðu ma ne sie minra gylta,
> para pe ic gefremede nalles feam siðum,
> metud, gemyndig. Læt mec, mihta god,
> on rimtale rices pines
> mid haligra hlyte wunigan
> in pære beorhtan byrig, pær is broðor min
> geweorðod in wuldre, pæs he wære wið pec,
> Stephanus, heold, peah he stangreopum
> worpod wære." (813-24a)

> ["Now, Son of God, I will ask you, Ruler of troops, now that I know you are the proclaimed and incarnate Glory of all kings, that you, God, not be mindful anymore of my sins, which I performed not at all a few times. Permit me, God of might, to dwell in a portion of your kingdom with a number of the holy ones in that bright city, where my brother is honored in glory because he, Stephen, kept the covenant with you, though he was stoned to death."]

With these words, Judas's transition is well underway: his speech-act begins the transformation of the feminized Jew, associated with the body and the letter of the Law, into a masculinized Christian, associated with the soul and the spirit of the Law. But Judas's Jewishness is not yet erased; therefore, his conversion is thus not complete. Like his biblical counterpart Saul, Judas must undergo a name change to effect a total eradication of his abject Hebrew identity; like St. Paul, the newly consecrated bishop

Cyriacus--the very name meaning æ hælendes 'the Law of the Savior'--emerges as a champion of his new faith (1062a).[17, 18] Indeed, Judas . . . pæt betere geceas, / wuldres wynne, ond pam wyrsan wiðsoc, / deofulgildum, ond gedwolan fylde, / unrihte æ 'chose the better thing--the joy of glory--and strove against the worse--idolatry--and struck down error and untrue law' (1038b-41a).

Once extricated from his sinful Judaism, Judas takes on a vocation in which he expounds the New Law that seamlessly replaces--even as it typologically fulfills--the Old Law. In the figure of Cyriacus, literalism, the feminized body and condemnation give way to spiritual insight, the masculinized soul and salvation. Accordingly, both Elene and the Phallic Christian God that she allegorically represents reward the newly minted convert in a rich display of their undefeatable power:

> Oft him feorran to
> laman, limseoce, lefe cwomon,
> healte, heorudreorige, hreofe ond blinde,
> heane, hygegeomre, symle hælo pær
> æt pam bisceope, bote fundon
> ece to aldre. Ða gen him Elene forgeaf
> sincweorðunga, pa hio wæs siðes fus
> eft to eðle. (1212b-19a)
>
> [The lame, the maimed and the infirm often came to him [Cyriacus] from afar; the crippled, the wounded, the leprous and the blind, the wretched, the sad-minded always found a remedy for their health there from that bishop, forever and ever. Then again Elene gave him costly gifts when she was ready again for the journey to her native land.]

In contrast to the almighty glory of the Father and his agents is the absolute impotence of the dead Jewish man's body, brought to assist Judas in the identification of the True Cross. His resurrection upon the raising of the holy wood quite literally accentuates the contrast that Elene draws between "the letter that kills and the spirit that gives life" (Hill 212). But the Jew's reanimation also has a sinister edge: it signifies that in a Christian

universe, the only good Jew is a dead Jew. Despite the life-affirming powers available to the devout Christian bishop, the lifeless Jewish flesh haunts the text as a grim reminder of the abject corporeality that will forever remain abhorrent to the Christian God.

Conclusion

In this study, I have attempted to give sensitive, methodologically sound consideration to three Old English poems using theory that elaborates how power is mediated through gender and the body. Within this theoretical framework, Judith, Juliana and Elene reveal that there is little uniformity in the ways that flesh and gender interrelate. For example, the devout Christian woman's theological association with the inferior flesh is, paradoxically, the very source of her victory over Satan's earthly forces. Judith's and Juliana's apparently feminized bodies are targeted for heinous acts of violence by their would-be abusers. But since their flesh is truly feminized only in relation to God--the Phallic signifier, to whom all creation is always already subsumed--the heroines triumph over the Father's diabolic enemies. Judith's arm wields the murderous sword that beheads Holofernes; Juliana's hair, skin and bones are impervious to Africanus's and Heliseus's torments.

The physical masculinization that these women undergo, however, is merely a temporary phenomenon and not an essential part of their being. Indeed, their bodies are mere channels through which God fulfills his terrestrial will. Through Judith and Juliana, Christian exegesis betrays an ambivalence toward the providentially useful--and potentially dangerous--female flesh. Yet while the basic feminization of the female body in the poems at hand is always already part of the scheme of divine order and will, the concept of feminization does not apply as uncomplicatedly to the female gender: the male gender, like the female gender, is also feminized in relation to God. Ultimately, the state of one's relationship to the Father determines to what degree one's gender is feminized in relation to other created--and gendered--beings. The feminization of Judas

in Elene, for example, betrays a disjunction between gender and power relation. Unlike Judith and Juliana, Elene presents a male character feminized in relation to the female Ecclesia who is intimately aligned with a male-gendered (and masculinized) God. Due to his fundamental association with the body, the male Jew is feminized to a higher order of magnitude than are any of the three heroines: he is the abject, repugnantly perched on the margins of Symbolic order. In the typological figure of Judas, then, the body becomes the ultimate non-Other / non-self against which the Spirit wages war in whatever gendered form it chooses.

At this point, the Christian body virtually disappears from view. In Elene, the queen's disembodiment coincides with her complicity with Phallic order: the manipulativeness and outright cruelty that this order manifests match those of its diabolically associated (if not entirely satanic) opposites. In the wake of Elene's unsettling power dynamics, the ways in which Old English religious literature formulates Otherness merit comprehensive investigation. The postcolonial theories of authors such as Homi Bhabha and Benedict Anderson would provide a sound base for such a venture, in addition to the gender and body theories of Butler, Foucault and Kristeva. A much more comprehensive study of the Anglo-Saxon poetic corpus would, of course, be in order: a logical starting point would be an investigation of how the Christian male body signifies in works such as Andreas, the story of the martyred St. Andrew. Because of the vital importance of grounding theoretical investigation in the poetic text, I would base this work, once again, on my own translations. Given Old English poetry's manifold stylistic conventions--so easily obscured by idiomatic Modern English--I would continue to make my translations as literal as possible. At the same time, however, I would

improve my translations' readability so as to make them more functional, accessible--and enjoyable--to modern readers.

Notes

Chapter 1

[1] I hesitate to use a word like "feminization," since the negative connotations of words like "feminization" and "effeminate" only serve to reinforce the link between weakness, inferiority, gender status and biological sex that have plagued women and those men who have not conformed to societally-sanctioned expectations of gender performance since time immemorial. Butler remarks that "those who fail to do their gender right are regularly punished," a sad truth that haunts humanity and human relations to this day ("Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" 273).

[2] This is not to suggest that Mary asked to be subservient. Her assent simply acknowledged the unbreachable power imbalance that already existed between her and the Creator.

[3] See Dobbie (lxiv) and Timmer (8) for evidence in support of this date.

[4] Butler defines "performativity" as the unconscious expression of gender through acts that in fact precede the subject's gender identity (Gender Trouble 24-25; "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" 279).

[5] For the purpose of this study, "body" and "flesh" will be used synonymously, although I am aware that other contexts might demand a differentiation between the two terms.

[6] And oft tyne oðde twelfe, ælc æfter oðrum, scændað 7 tawiað to bismore micclum pæs pegnes cwenan 7 hwilum his dohtor oðde nydmagan, par he on locað pe læt hine silfne rancne 7 ricne 7 genoh godne ær pæt gewurde. 'And often ten or twelve, each after the other, reviles and outrages with much disgrace the thane's woman and sometimes his daughter or near kinswoman, while he looks on, who considered himself proud and powerful and good enough before that happened' ("Sermo Lupi" 111-114).

[7] Just because Old English literature always aligns disorderly feasting with evil does not mean that it always associates orderly feasting with goodness. Hugh Magennis refers very specifically to the Old English Judith when he comments that "The [ideal] Germanic feast is an expression of admirable social order and cohesion: the particular feast which is described in Judith is deliberately presented as a travesty of such order and cohesion" ([1983] 332). He carefully notes that not all Old English Christian literature treats this pagan tradition so favorably.

[8] In fact, Holofernes's disorderly drunkenness invites direct parallels between himself, the devil, and the Danes who were "notorious for their excessive drinking" (Astell 123).

[9] Further readings on this issue come from Fredrik J. Heinemann, who discusses the parodic treatment of the battle between the two enemy camps, an event that does not take place in the apocryphal book; the poem thus "degrades the Assyrians and attributes their defeat to obeying Holofernes rather than the 'arfæst cyning' of Judith's troops' (89). Jane Mushabac adapts to Judith R. E. Kaske's observations on Beowulf, defining heroism in terms of one's possessing sapientia ("a combination of cleverness, skill, knowledge and the ability to choose and act rightly") and fortitudo ("physical might and courage") (Mushabac 4). Mushabac notes that these same qualities mark Judith in direct contrast to Holofernes, who is instead characterized by malitia ("not just evil or violence; it is a manifestation of an absence of sapientia") (7).

[10] This is a concern for Belanoff and Lucas despite the more strongly contrasting image pattern that separates Judith's wisdom from Holofernes's folly. See note 9, above.

[11] That Judith commits murder bothers some critics enough to try to absolve her of an ostensible "guilt" for her "crime." On the basis of evidence found while comparing the apocryphal and Old English Judith's prayers prior to beheading Holofernes, Alessandra Rapetti asserts that "Certainly the poet's restructuring of Judith's prayer results in his Judith being less responsible for the slaying of Holofernes than her Biblical counterpart. . . . [Such restructuring] emphasizes in this context that it was God who killed Holofernes, that Judith was no more than his instrument" (157, 159).

[12] See, for example, Magennis (1995) and Belanoff.

[13] A distinction must be drawn between the terms "penis" and "phallus" in any discussion of Lacanian discourse: "the penis refers to the male organ, while the phallus refers to its symbolic values of potency, authority, and power" (Hermann 193).

[14] Judith's status as a warrior has been a source of disagreement in the literature. Patricia A. Belanoff asserts that "Where Beowulf is a cempa (warrior; line 1551, etc.), Judith is never designated by a term that makes her a fighter; she is not strong or angry or fierce; she does not brandish her weapon like a warrior before battle" (256). In the other camp, Alexandra Hennessey Olsen writes that "Because 'ellenrof' is a term used to characterize the heroes of both secular and religious poetry, its use makes Judith resemble an Old English warrior" (289). These two points of view, however, are not as divergent as they might seem. Judith is certainly not a warrior in the mold of Beowulf, a secular warrior in a largely secular story; although she may "resemble an Old English warrior," Judith is not a typical Anglo-Saxon fighter. The Bethulian widow inhabits a niche that, indeed, makes her status difficult, if not impossible, to classify.

[15] Of course, that Judith wields a sword for the purpose of beheading a man begs a psychoanalytic reading. Hermann (181-198) provides a thorough discussion of the equation of beheading with castration and the resulting implications for textual interpretation.

[16] In the Book of Judith, the Assyrians flee after discovering the slain Holofernes while the Bethulians cut them down from behind (Jth. 15: 1-7).

Chapter 2

[1] See Chapter 1, page 11, for a definition of the Tyconian worldview.

[2] Unlike Judith, Juliana is a virgin: Judith is a chaste widow. While the extant Judith fragment does not contain this detail, it is of significant importance in the biblical book. Judith's husband, Manasseh, leaves her great wealth at his death, a fact that, along with Judith's tremendous devotion to God, wins her a high social standing in Bethulia.

[3] Between the eighth and eleventh centuries, the majority of Britain's convents were destroyed by Viking attackers. Only nine remained by the time of the Norman Conquest (Schulenburg 275).

[4] See Chapter 1, pages 8-9, regarding St. Irenaeus's theology of Eve and the Virgin Mary within the context of salvation history.

[5] Foucault indicates that the Lateran Council gave confession sacramental status in 1215 ([1990] 58).

[6] Of course, the reference to a diabolical father parodies allusions to the Father whom Juliana knows as ". . . wuldres god / . . . gæsta scyppend, / meotud moncynnes" 'the God of glory . . . the Creator of souls, the Lord of mankind,' who wields power over heaven and earth as well as hell (180b-82a); it also reinforces the link between Satan and Juliana's evil earthly father, Africanus.

[7] Judith also contains epithets referring to the heroine's fundamental holiness, such as . . . halige meowle 'holy maiden' (56b). The demon in Juliana identifies himself as "halig of heahpu" 'a holy one from on high' (263a) when he greets Juliana in prison; his use of this epithet undoubtedly contributes to the heroine's confusion regarding his origin, along with the fact that Hæfde engles hiw 'He had the form of an angel' (244b). This false angel was himself responsible for provoking Herod's execution of John the Baptist "ða se halga wer / pære wiflufan wordum styrde, / unrihte æ" 'when the holy one reproved with words the husband of that woman [Herod's wife] for his unlawful marriage' (295b-97a). This reference places Juliana squarely in the tradition of the Christian martyr, fundamentally linked to God and to the other individuals throughout salvation history for whom holiness is more important than terrestrial life.

[8] Appropriately, the demon admits that he and his fellow-devils are . . . "hygegeomre, / forhte on ferðe" 'sad-minded, afraid in our spirits' when Satan sends them to torment the righteous (327b-28a). Old English poetry resounds with references to God's enemies as sad, fearful, or otherwise mentally and spiritually distressed, while those who obey the Lord's precepts are typically presented as happy and unafraid. This is why it is not odd to find Cynewulf describing the malevolent Heliseus as . . . sorgcearig 'sorrowful' when the prefect orders Juliana's execution (603a).

[9] The reference to ". . . ealdne niþ" 'old strife' (623b) echoes the hostis antiquus trope discussed in the previous chapter. See Chapter 1, page 12.

[10] This is clearly not true. One look at Cynewulf's Elene quickly reveals that both the newly-converted Constantine and Elene use brute force to destroy God's enemies.

[11] On the basis of this passage, I wholeheartedly concur with Stephen Morrison's objection to Schneider's argument: "In the case of cempa ['warrior'] in phrases of the type Metodes cempan ['warrior of the Lord' (383b)], the notions of physical fighting naturally aroused by the term are effectively redirected on to a spiritual plane, thus demanding an other-than-literal reassessment of the nature of this fighting. Primary meaning is not nullified, merely modified" (84).

[12] In The Battle of Maldon, a poem based on an actual fight against the Vikings, the poet notes that the cowardly Anglo-Saxon sons of Odda fled the battlefield upon the death of their lord Byrhtnoth. One can almost see the author recoiling in horror as he writes that, instead of continuing to fight, the brothers ran to the woods and hyra fēore burgon 'and saved their lives' (194b). In secular as in sacred Old English poetic warfare, concern for one's life is not a positive attribute at best, and, at worst, is a cause for eternal shame.

[13] While the literal Juliana can be directly equated with her allegorical and tropological identities, she is not herself a Christ-figure. Such an identification would undermine the divine hegemony that pervades Old English sacred poetry. Joseph Wittig's assertion that "imitation of Christ is not literal identity with Christ" holds fast in a literature that contains absolutely no room for a plural Deity (43). Imitation of Christ is also not a literal recapitulation of his passion and death. Nevertheless, Juliana's experience is an imitatio Christi in its evocation of the circumstances surrounding the Son of God's--her Spouse's--crucifixion. For example, she, like Christ, spends time in her metaphorical desert--her prison--where she is purified

> by rejecting the world, the flesh, and the devil: the three sources of temptations--associated by medieval exegetes with avarice, gluttony, and pride--which led to Adam's loss of Eden. Whereas Adam sinned through avarice in his inordinate desire to possess the forbidden fruit, gluttony in eating the fruit, and pride in desiring to be like God, Juliana, in her own way, follows Christ Who, as part of His reversal of the Fall, overcame avarice in rejecting the devil's offer of all the kingdoms in the world, gluttony in not turning the stones of the desert into bread, and pride in refusing to cast himself down from the mountain. (Bzdyl 170-71)

Wittig notes the biblical parallels to the following steps in Juliana's passion, which also closely copies that of Christ: "The saint is interrogated and beaten by her angry father (89-129 and 140-3a); she is given over to Heliseus for judgement [sic] (158-60a) and scourged a second time on his orders (186b-8); she is then hung 'on heanne beam' ['on a high tree'] (227b-30) where she suffers for six hours; finally she is taken down and shut in the dark prison (231-3a)" (42).

[14] Holofernes and Juliana's demon are semantically linked by the adjective wærlogan 'troth-breaker' (Judith 71b; Juliana 455), a word also carrying connotations of "traitor," "liar," and "devil."

Chapter 3

[1] The biblical Holofernes is, however, responsible for ordering the slow death of the Bethulian people by cutting off vital food and water supplies. The Bethulians had refused to aid King Nebuchadnezzar (for whom Holofernes is an agent) in his ultimately successful campaign against King Arphaxad (see Jth. 1-7). This detail may or may not have been included in the missing fragment of the Old English Judith.

[2] Judas's name, of course, also evokes that of Christ's betrayer, Judas Iscariot.

[3] This detail is curiously anachronistic: the historical Constantine lived, in fact, from c.274 to 337 CE (Oxford English Reference Dictionary 308).

[4] Hill contributes the following argument in favor of reading Elene as Ecclesia:

> There are . . . a number of details in the poem which would contribute to such an understanding of the figure of Elene. Thus she is first mentioned after Constantine's conversion, and is specifically identified as his mother (214), a detail which is historically accurate, but which could suggest the image of the Church as "mater" also. Again, she is twice apostrophized as a "guðcwen" ['war-queen'] (254, 331) and as a "sigecwen" ['victory-queen'] (260, 997), epithets which could be--given the clearly ecclesiological implications of Elene's role within the poem--natural and immediate epithets for the Church possibly reminiscent of the "mulier fortis" ['courageous woman'] of Proverbs 31.10 and the "sponsa" ['spouse'] of Canticles 6.3, who is "terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata" ['formidable as an army with banners']--both traditional types of the Church. And finally the bestowal of the Holy Ghost, which is granted to Judas during his renunciation of the devil, is not given to Elene until the whole body of unbelieving Jews acknowledge the faith--a detail which might suggest the patristic theme that the final fulfillment of the Church is to be achieved only in the last times through the conversion of the remnant of the Jews. (213)

Clare A. Lees, complementing Hill's perspective on the allegorization of Elene as Ecclesia, problematizes such already figurative conflation:

> Elene is given the gift of wisdom after the discovery of the nails of the Cross (lines 1142-3) in a move that points up the slippage between literal and allegorical figuration, since the already wise and learned Ecclesia would have no need of such a gift. As Hill points out, the literal and allegorical levels of a poem, though simultaneous, are never synonymous, and the redundancy of the gift on the allegorical level highlights its importance to the historical woman. (165)

The disjunctions between allegorical and literal readings of Elene do not trouble me; I am, in fact, more ready to complicate an interpretation of Judith as Ecclesia (see Chapter 1, pages 17-20). This is simply because, first, Elene is an historical figure whereas Judith is not; second, because the complication of Judith's portrayal emanates from the text's

suggestion that Judith once sustained a loss of faith--indicative of a doctrinal backslide, however temporary--while Elene's new wisdom constitutes a gain. I am content to leave these points--although they are more personal than academic--simply as they are, since the present study is not concerned with arguing either for or against the validity of certain allegorical readings.

[5] The term "True Cross" distinguishes the cross on which Christ was crucified from those on which the thieves at either side of Jesus died.

[6] Donald K. Fry defines the type scene is as follows: "a recurring stereotyped presentation of conventional details used to describe a certain narrative event, requiring neither verbatim repetition nor a specific formula content" ([1971] 100). Lee C. Ramsey offers the following description of an approach-to-battle type scene:

> the central action is the advance to the field, and the supplementary actions are the command to advance, the preparations for advancing, and the assembly, which is either a preparation for or the same as the advance. . . . Other details include the statement of intention, which follows a reference to the advance. . . ; the beasts of battle, which also follows a reference to the advance; hastening, which usually follows the beasts of battle; the bearing of equipment, which is synonymous with advancing; and various details about the attitude of the warriors, which can come almost anywhere. (72)

[7] These words are an elaboration of an earlier depiction of the ships being loaded for the journey hildesercum, / bordum ond ordum, byrnwigendum, / werum ond wifum 'with coats of mail, with shields and spears, with byrnied warriors, with men and women' (234b-236a). The slippage in this particular passage between weapon and warrior points to the utility of each as a tool for military efforts and missionary activity alike, the fight for terrestrial domination in God's name. But curiously, the purpose the women are to serve is never made clear: only Elene is ever mentioned. They may exist solely to serve the men on board, but the possibility of their being numbered among the 'byrnied warriors' must not be discounted. The poem's repeated references to Elene as guðcwen 'war-queen' are instructive, although only speculatively. This issue certainly merits further study, casting as it would some valuable light on the roles possibly carried out by Christian Anglo-Saxon women.

[8] I use the masculine pronoun here, since the Elene text does not mention any female Jews. While this issue is in itself problematic, it is beyond the scope of the present project.

[9] Judas's torture, unlike Juliana's ordeal, fits Foucault's three criteria. See Chapter 2, pages 31-32, for Foucault's perspectives on torture.

[10] The Judith-text notes that, in response to Judith's prayer, Hi ða se hehsta dema / ædre mid elne onbryrde 'The highest Judge then inspired her at once with heroic ardor' (94b-95a). The word ellen 'heroic ardor,' 'zeal,' 'strength,' or 'courage,' invariably

carries an extremely positive connotation in Old English poetry and describes only the best of warriors.

[11] The Old English arleas carries numerous other negative connotations, including 'dishonorable,' 'base,' 'wicked,' and 'cruel.' The word is actually a compound of ar 'grace,' 'prosperity,' 'mercy,' and leas 'without' 'devoid of.' Its use in Elene resonates with all of the possible undertones signifying a people who have lost divine favor through their own sinfulness. Satan, of course, exemplifies arleas behavior: this connection is not to be missed here. Cynewulf's Jew may not allegorically represent diabolus, but as the devil's earthly body, he shares Satan's most basic characteristic: willful pride.

[12] Foucault's definition of power as "the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization" does not suit the context of the three poems considered in this thesis ([1990] 92). Within the context of Judith, Juliana, and Elene, power is presented as an entity ultimately found only among the members of the Holy Trinity, working in perfect concord as an essentially singular power source.

[13] It was only in CE 597 that Gregory the Great sent Augustine to convert the pagan Anglo-Saxons to Christianity; his success was initially quite limited. The Vikings launched a severe attack in CE 793, sacking the influential monastery at Lindisfarne and increasing the precarious position of the fledgling English Church.

[14] Since the historical Elene was British-born, the figurative ties between the queen, Ecclesia, and England overshadow Cynewulf's poem with a special intensity.

[15] See n. 10 above.

[16] Judas's people give him over to Elene in a way that typologically reverses Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Jesus: . . . pær pa ænne betæhton / giddum gearusnottorne --pam wæs Iudas nama / cenned for cneomagum 'there and then they handed over one very wise in traditional knowledge--Judas was his name, named for his kinsman' (585b-87a). The figural Judases are intertwined symbols connoting, first, the separation through sin of the Hebrew from Ecclesia and, finally, his ultimate repentance and incorporation into the Christian fold.

[17] In the Bible, naming is a male-gendered prerogative: Adam names God's earthly creation; men name their offspring and dwelling places. Accordingly, Elene does not rename Judas: this task is instead left to a male representative of the Church, Pope Eusebius. Elene, even as the masculinized Ecclesia, becomes automatically refeminized when face-to-face with a nonfigurative member of the Church's hierarchy.

[18] Judas's new name does not, in fact, carry the meaning that Cynewulf attributes to it. E. Gordon Whatley states that Cyriacus

> is the adjective from Greek kurios, 'lord,' and means 'of the lord,' 'belonging to the lord.' Its Latin equivalent is dominicus, and the usual Old English translation

of dominicus was, predictably, dryhtenlic ['lordly', 'divine,' 'of the Lord']. The correct, prosaic explication of Cyriacus would have been either dryhtenlic or simply dryhtnes ['of the Lord']. . . . [Cynewulf] recognized the symbolic importance of the change of name in a work that is so much concerned with conversion. His imaginative interpretation of the new name expresses far better than a strictly literal gloss the new identity which Judas, as convert and bishop, has acquired, for the new name, as glossed by Cynewulf, embodies the concepts of law and salvation, two of the central themes of the poem. (110-111)

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Appendix A

Judith Translation

[Judith] had doubts about
the gifts in this wide world. Then she readily discovered
protection from the illustrious Prince there when she possessed the greatest need,
grace from the highest Judge, so that he might protect her
against the highest terror, the Ruler of creation. The radiant-minded Father in the skies
performed a favor for her, she who always possessed firm belief
in the Almighty. Then I learned that Holofernes
eagerly made out invitations and with every wondrous thing
prepared a magnificent banquet. To that feast the leader of men ordered
all the most experienced thanes. With great haste they
carried that out, the shield-warriors; the counselors of the people
came traveling to that powerful prince. That was on the fourth day
after which Judith, wise in her mind,
the elf-shining woman, first sought him.
Then they went to sit at that feasting,
proud ones to the wine-drinking, all of his companions in woe,
bold warriors wearing byrnies. There were deep cups
frequently borne along the benches, likewise also pitchers and goblets
full for the hall-sitters; they received that vessel,
the brave shield-warriors, though the powerful man did not expect doom,
the terrifying lord of men. Then Holofernes,
the gold-friend of men, became joyful at the wine-pouring,
laughed and made a clamor, roared and made a din,
so that sons of men could hear from afar
how the stern-minded one stormed and yelled,
spirited and mead-excited, exhorted
the bench-sitters enough that they bear themselves well.
In this way, the evil one drowned his troop-warriors
with wine through the whole day,
the powerful-minded giver of treasure, until they lay swimming,
his troop of warriors all made drunk, as though they were slain dead,
destroyed of every good thing. In this way, the chief of men ordered
that the hall-sitters be served until the dark night
drew near to the sons of men. Then, steeped in hostility, he ordered
the blessed maiden to be brought with haste
to his bed adorned with ornaments,
covered with rings. They quickly carried that out,
just as their leader, the ruler of byrnied warriors, bade them;
the retainers instantly stepped forward

to the guest-chamber, where they found wise
Judith, and then boldly
the shield-warriors began to lead
the radiant maiden to the high tent
where the powerful man rested after the revelry
in his night's dwelling, that one hateful to the Savior,
Holofernes. There was a lovely fly-net,
all made of gold, hung around that chieftain's
bed so that the wicked one
could gaze through, the leader of warriors,
upon whichever of the sons of warriors
came therein, and none of the race of men
could see him, unless that bold one should order any
of those men vigorous in hostility to come near to him
in secret counsel. Then they quickly brought the wise woman
to his resting place; the stout-hearted ones went
to make known in the hearing of their man that the holy maiden had been
brought into his pavilion. Then the famous one, cheerful
in his mind, the leader of the stronghold, intended that he would defile the
shining woman
with filth and with foulness. The Judge of glory would not
consent to that, the Guardian of might, but he, the Lord, the Ruler of the troop,
steered him from that deed. That one of the race of devils then went,
lustful-spirited, with a band of warriors, * * *
full of wicked intent, to seek his bed where he was destined to abandon
his fame
quickly within one night; then he had reached his end
ungently on the earth, just as he, the harsh-minded prince of men,
had previously brought it about for himself while he dwelled in this world
under the roof of clouds. Then the powerful one fell so drunk with wine
in the middle of his resting place that he did not know any sensible
counsel
in the locks of his mind. Warriors stepped
out of that lodging with great haste,
men sated with wine, those who led the troth-breaker,
the hateful persecutor of the people, to bed
for the last time. Then the glorious
handmaiden of the Savior was extremely mindful
of how she could most easily deprive the befouled one
of his life before the unclean one,
full of perversity, awoke. Then the curly-haired
maiden of the Creator seized the sharp blade,
hardened in a shower of blows, and drew it from its sheath
with her right hand; then she began to call
the Guardian of the sky by name, Savior of all
world-dwellers, and spoke these words:

"I will ask you, God of origins
and Spirit of comfort, Son of the Almighty,
for your mercy to me in my need,
glory of the Trinity. Now my heart is
extremely aflame and my mind is troubled,
exceedingly stirred up with sorrow. Grant to me, Leader of the sky,
victory and true belief, that I might cut down
this dispenser of murder with this sword; grant me my safety,
mighty Prince of the people. I never had more need
of your mercy. Wreak vengeance now, mighty Lord,
radiant-minded dispenser of all good things, because there is such grief in my mind,
hot in my heart." The highest Judge then
inspired her at once with heroic ardor, just as he does for each
dweller on this earth who seeks him as a help
with wisdom and right faith. Then she became unfettered in her mind,
her hope in the Holy One renewed; then she seized the heathen man
firmly by his hair, and with her hands drew the guardian toward her
to his shame, and with cunning placed
the wicked one, the hateful man,
in such a way that she could most easily
well control the wretched one. The curly-haired one slew
the evil attacker, the hostile-minded one,
with the shining blade so that she cut through half
his neck, so that he lay swimming,
drunk and mortally wounded. That one was not yet dead then,
not entirely lifeless; the courageous woman
earnestly slew the heathen hound
another time, so that his head rolled forth
onto the floor. Afterwards, the foul trunk lay
deprived of life; the spirit turned elsewhere
beneath the cliff of the abyss and was brought low there,
fettered in torment ever after,
wound about with worms, bound with punishments,
severely imprisoned in hellfire
after his departure. He never needs to hope,
wrapped about with darkness, that he might go thence
from that hall of serpents, but must dwell there
forever and ever forth to the end
in that dark home, lacking in hope of joys.
Then Judith won illustrious glory
in battle just as God granted,
the Leader of the sky. That one allotted victory to her.
Then the wise maiden quickly put
that warrior's head, so bloody,
into a sack which her attendant,

a fair-cheeked woman virtuous in morals,
carried to her with food for both of them
and then gave it, gory as it was, into her hand,
Judith to her female disciple, to that wise-minded one
to bear home. Then both of the women
went away from that place, extremely bold,
until they, the bold-spirited ones,
the blessed maidens, came out from that army
so that they could clearly see
their radiant stronghold with shining walls,
Bethulia. Then they, adorned with rings,
hastened forth on that course
until they, glad in their minds, had gone
to the wall-gate. Warriors sat,
watchful men from that nation
previously sorrowful-minded, held the guardianship
in that stronghold just as Judith had bid,
the wise maiden, when she went on her journey,
the courageous woman. The beloved one had come again
to her people, and then suddenly
the wise woman ordered one of the men
to begin to go from that stronghold towards her
and quickly let them in
through the gate of the wall, and spoke these words
to that victorious people: "I can say to you
a thing worthy of thought, that you no longer need
to be anxious in your minds. To you the Lord is gracious,
the King of glory; that has been made known
widely throughout the world, that glorious success and fame,
a radiant future, is granted to you
for the injuries that you suffered for a long time."
The dwellers in that stronghold became cheerful
after they heard how the holy one spoke
over the high wall. The army was in high spirits.
The people hastened forward toward the castle-gate,
men and women together, in multitudes and in throngs,
in bands and in hosts: they pressed forward and they ran
toward the maiden of the Prince in thousands,
the old and the young. The mind of every
man in that mead-stronghold became cheered;
afterwards, they perceived that Judith had come
again to her homeland, and then quickly,
with humility, they allowed her in.
Then the wise one, adorned with gold,
ordered her attentive maid-servant
to unbind the warrior's head

and to display it as a bloody sign
to the people of that stronghold of how their war had succeeded.
Then the noble one spoke to all of that people:
"Here you can clearly stare, warriors bold in victory,
leaders of the people, at that most hateful
heathen battle-warrior, the lifeless
head of Holofernes,
who carried out murders to the greatest degree upon us men,
grievous pain, and who would yet
add more, but God would not grant to him
a longer life so that he
might afflict us with evils; I deprived him of his life
through God's help. Now I will ask
each man of this stronghold's people,
of the shield-warriors, that you quickly prepare
yourselves for the fight. After the God of origins,
the merciful King, sends a beam of light
from the east, bear forth your linden-shields,
boards and byrnies for your breasts,
shining helmets in the midst of your enemies
to cut down commanders with fair swords,
doomed leaders. Your enemies are
ordained to death and you are to possess fame,
glory in battle, just as the mighty Lord
has signified to you through my hand."
Then the troop became keen, the bold ones
quickly prepared for combat. Men and warriors
stepped forward nobly, bore triumphal banners,
immediately journeyed forth to the fight,
warriors under helmets, from their holy stronghold
at the break of dawn. Shields made a din,
resounded loudly. Accordingly the thin wolf rejoiced
in the forest, and the dark raven,
the slaughter-greedy bird. Both knew
that the warriors intended to supply them
with their fill of doomed ones; but the eagle eager for eats
flew behind them, dewy-winged:
the dark-coated one sang a battle-song,
the horn-beaked one. Warriors stepped forward,
men to war, protected by their boards,
by their concave linden-shields, those who previously
suffered foreign disgrace for awhile,
the reproach of heathens. The Assyrians
paid greatly for everything that happened
at that spear-play, after the Hebrews
had gone under war-banners

to that camp. Then they boldly
let showers of arrows fly forth,
war-snakes, from horn-tipped bows,
strong darts; fierce warriors
stormed loudly, sent spears
into the multitude of fierce ones. Warriors were angry,
land-dwellers, toward that hateful race;
stepped forward stern-minded, stout-hearted,
unsoftly stirred up the mead-weary
old foes; retainers drew with their hands
brightly-adorned swords from their sheaths,
excellent of edge, earnestly slew
the evil-scheming battle-warriors
of Assyria; did not spare any
of that army, the lowly nor the powerful,
any living man that they could overcome.
In this way, the retainers attacked the foreign people
continually that morning
until those who were angry, that army's
chief protectors, perceived
that the Hebrew men displayed effective
sword-brandishing to them. They went to make that known
in words to the highest
of the chief retainers, stirred up those standard-bearers
and fearfully told them the tidings,
mead-weary, about the terrors of the morning,
about the terrible edge-play. Then I heard that
those warriors doomed to perish quickly woke up
and hastened in a troop, weary in spirit,
toward the pavilion of that hateful one,
Holofernes. They intended
to announce war to their lord at once,
before the terror should set upon them,
the might of the Hebrews. All thought
that the ruler of men and the radiant maiden
were together in that bright tent,
Judith the noble one and the lustful-minded one,
awe-inspiring and bitter. There was not one of the men
who dared to awaken the warrior
or to find out how the standard-bearer
had done evil against the holy maid,
the maiden of the Lord. That force drew near:
the people of the Hebrews fought severely
with hard swords, repaid the affliction
of their longstanding enemies, the old offenses,
with fair swords; the fame of Assyria

abated in that day's work,
pride bent down. Men stood
around in their prince's tent, exceedingly agitated,
dark-spirited. Then, all together,
destitute of good, enduring anger,
they began to cough, to cry out loudly
and to gnash their teeth. Then their glory was at an end,
prosperity and heroic deeds. The men intended to awaken
their friendly lord; but it was not at all successful.
Then, belatedly at last, one of the warriors
arose to the ready, so that he, bold,
ventured on--hard-pressed by necessity-- into that tent.
He then discovered his pale gold-giver lying
on that bed deprived of his spirit,
lacking life. Then he fell suddenly,
frozen to the floor, began to tear his hair
and his clothing at the same time, wild in his mind,
and spoke these words to those sad
warriors who were there outside.
"Here our own ruin is revealed,
shown approaching; that time is
advancing nigh with hostilities: we who must be lost in this hardship
must perish together in the strife. Here, cut down by a sword, lies
our beheaded protector." They then sorrowfully
threw down their weapons to depart wearily from him,
to hasten in flight. The mighty people fought them in their tracks
as they fled until the greatest portion
of that army lay dead, sunken in battle
on that field of victory, cut down by swords,
as a joy for wolves and a comfort
for each slaughter-greedy bird. Then the living ones fled
the weapons of their foes. In pursuit of them
the troop of the Hebrews was honored in victory,
made famous by their glory; the Lord God took them
into his fair help, the almighty Ruler.
Then, with shining swords, they courageously
cut a military path through the hateful multitude;
bold warriors hewed linden-shields,
sheared the shield wall. Warriors were
enraged by combat, the men of the Hebrews;
at that time, thanes were extremely desirous
of the spear-fight. There, in the grit, fell
the greatest portion of the head-count
of the Assyrian nobility,
of the hateful race. Very few arrived
in their native land alive. The noble warriors

turned in retreat among the slaughter,
reeking corpses. There was room for taking
from the old unliving foes,
from the land-dwellers, their bloody war-spoil
on those hateful stones, shining armor,
the board and the broad sword, brown helmets,
precious treasures. The guardians of the native land
had gloriously overcome the enemy
in that people's place, old foes
destroyed by swords. They rested on that pathway,
they who had been, while they were living, the most hateful
of races alive to them. Then all of that race,
the greatest of peoples, for the space of one month,
proud, curly-locked, carried and bore
to their bright stronghold, Bethulia,
helmets and short swords, gray byrnies,
the armor of men adorned with gold,
greater treasures than any man
of shrewd mind could tell;
all that the retainers won from that multitude,
bold under banners in that battle-place
through Judith's wise teaching,
the brave maiden. They brought silver
to her as a reward for that expedition,
men brave in battle, Holofernes's
sword and sweating helmet, also his wide byrnie
adorned with red gold, and all that the powerful, stern-minded lord
possessed of treasure or of private inheritance,
of rings and bright treasures; they gave that readily
to the shining woman. Judith spoke of all
the glory of the Lord of troops, who gave her honor,
fame in the kingdom of the world, likewise every reward in the heavens,
reward of victory in the bright sky, she who possessed true belief
in the Almighty; certainly at the end she did not doubt
in the reward that she had earned long ago. Accordingly, may the beloved
Lord's glory
remain forever and ever, he who created wind and the atmosphere,
the skies and the roomy ground, likewise fierce streams
and the joys of heaven, through his own benevolence.

Appendix B

Juliana Translation

Listen! We have heard warriors proclaim,
battle-bold ones declare, that it came to pass in the days of
Maximian, the merciless king
who raised up persecution throughout middle earth,
killed men of Christ, destroyed churches;
the heathen battle-chief spilled on the grass
the blood of holy ones, of God-praisers,
of doers of righteous deeds. His kingdom was broad,
wide and splendid over the nation,
over nearly all of the wide world.
Brave thanes went among strongholds
as he had ordered. Often they raised up violence,
foolish in their deeds, those who persecuted the law of the Lord
through wickedness. They raised up hostility,
raised up heathen offerings, murdered holy ones,
hewed down book-learned ones, burned the chosen ones,
frightened God's bold ones with spear and flame.
One of that noble race, the powerful prefect,
was wealthy in possessions. He wielded power in that stronghold,
protected that dwelling-place continuously
in that fort of Nicomedia,
held the treasure-hold. Often he sought heathen offerings
contrary to God's word, sought idols
zealously enough. His name was
Heliseus; he had lordship,
greatness and fame. Then his mind began
to desire a maiden, Juliana:
curiosity destroyed him. She bore in her spirit
holy trust, earnestly intended
that she would chastely hold fast her maidenhood
against every sin for the love of Christ.
Then the maiden was, according to her father's will,
betrothed to that wealthy one; he did not know fate,
how she, young in spirit,
scorned his friendship. Her fear of God was
mightier in her mind than all the treasure
that remained in the prince's possession.
Then the wealthy one, the warrior rich in gold,
was eager-minded for the marriage,
so that one prepared the maiden, the bride,
most quickly for his dwelling-place. She firmly scorned
the love of that man, though he possessed treasures

in treasure chests, countless ornaments
over the earth. She scorned all that
and spoke these words in front of the crowd of men:
"I can say to you that you do not need
to trouble yourself exceedingly. If you love and believe in
the true God and raise up his glory,
know the Protector of spirits, I am ready at once,
without hesitation, to do your will.
Likewise I say to you, if you trust in the deeds
of inferior gods through offerings to the devil,
make promises before heathen idols, you cannot have me,
nor force me to marry you.
Never can you prepare such excessive pain
by means of violent hostility, of severe punishments,
that you might make me change these words."
The nobleman then became enraged with anger,
hostile with wicked deeds: he heard that woman's words.
Then, fierce and mentally blind, he ordered
a bold messenger brought; he ordered the father of the holy one
quickly to secret counsel. A noise was raised up
after they caused spears to lean together,
those warriors. Both heathens were
corrupt with sins, father-in-law and son-in-law.
Then the kingdom's guardian spoke
to that maiden's father, wicked-minded,
that spear-bearing one: "Your daughter has shown dishonor
to me. She says to me outright
that she does not care for my love,
for my friendship. Those insults are
most bitter to me in my heart,
that she offered me such bitter disgrace
before this people, ordered me either to honor with riches,
to praise with words, to worship in my heart
a foreign god above the others
that we knew previously, or not to have her."
Then the stern-minded father-in-law darkened after these words;
that maiden's father unbound his breast:
"I swear by the true gods,
as from them I ever find mercy--
or, Prince, by you and your favor
in this stronghold-- that if these words are true,
most beloved of men, you who speak to me,
that I will not spare her, but will give her over to destruction,
great prince, into your power.
You condemn her to death if it seems fitting to you,
or let her remain alive if that is pleasing to you."

Then he boldly went to speak with the maiden,
single-minded and wickedly antagonistic, enraged with anger,
where he knew the gracious young one
occupied the dwelling. Then he spoke these words:
"You are my daughter, the dearest
and the sweetest to my heart,
the only one on earth, the light of my eyes,
Juliana! You have in foolishness,
through your unprofitable hostility,
undertaken a course of action against the judgment of wise ones.
Upon your own counsel you refuse too quickly
your bridegroom, who is better than you,
more noble over the earth, richer
of treasure. He is good as a friend.
Therefore, it is worthy that you do not ever forsake
this man's love, his eternally blessed love.
Then the blessed one gave him an answer,
Juliana. She had steadfastly fixed
her friendship with God:
"Never will I consent to this prince's
friendship unless he worship the mighty God
more eagerly than he did until now,
love with sacrifices him who created light,
heaven and earth and the expanse of the waters,
the regions of the clouds. He cannot otherwise bring me
to his dwelling-place. Then, with his possessions,
he must seek the love of a bride
in another woman: he will not have any here."
Then, in his anger, her father gave her an answer
in a hateful way. He did not at all promise treasures:
"I swear --if my life is dear--
that if you do not soon abandon this folly,
and you still worship foreign gods
and then forsake those that are dear to us,
those who stand as a help to this people,
then you will soon forfeit your life,
perish in death through the attack of wild beasts
if you will not consent to this pleading,
to this noble union. That course of action is great
and calamitous for the likes of you,
that you should disdain our lord."
Then the blessed one wise and dear to God,
Juliana, gave him an answer:
"I will say to you as a truth,
upon my life I will not perpetrate a lie:
I never did dread your judgment upon me,

nor are your torments, your hostile violence
painful to me, you who boast to me,
violently doing evil;
nor will you ever bring it about through your evil behavior
that you shall turn me away from Christ's love."
Then he was furious, angry and fierce,
dangerous and savage, father against daughter.
Then he ordered her beaten, punished by torture,
afflicted with punishments, and spoke these words:
"Change your mind and alter the words
that you foolishly spoke before,
when you disdained the worship of our gods."
The fearless one, Juliana,
gave him an answer out of her spiritual insight:
"You will never teach me so that I
will promise tribute with deceit to deaf and dumb
images of the devil, to spirits of hatred
through the worst of punishment from your thanes;
but I honor the Lord of glory
and of majesty of this middle-earth
and entrust everything to him alone,
so that he has become my Protector,
my Helper and Savior against the hell-foe."
In his anger, Africanus,
her father, then gave the maiden into the control of the enemy
Heliseus. In the morning,
after the arrival of the light, he ordered her brought
to his judgment seat. The troop looked with amazement
upon that maiden's radiance, the people all together.
Then the nobleman greeted her first,
her bridegroom, with cheerful words:
"My sweetest ray of the sun,
Juliana! Listen, you have radiance,
ample gifts, the splendor of youth!
If you propitiate our gods from now on
and you consequently seek protection
through the merciful favor of the holy ones, the hardship of crimes,
of countless punishments, of bitter sorrows
that are prepared for you if you will not sacrifice
to our true deities may be averted from you there."
The noble maiden gave him an answer:
"You will never threaten me with your boasts,
nor prepare so many of those cruel punishments
so that I will love your lordship,
unless you forsake these lies,
this worship of idols, and wisely come to know

the God of glory, the Creator of souls,
the Lord of mankind, in whose might
all of creation is forever without end."
Then, before that people, the ruler of the people,
fierce in his mind, spoke in boastful words,
exceedingly angry, and ordered that maiden
to prostrate herself naked as a means of severe punishment,
and had her, that one without sins, flogged with a whip.
Then the warrior laughed derisively, spoke in reproachful words:
"This is the authority of our strife,
received at the beginning! Again, I will grant you
your life, although you previously
spoke many imprudent words,
too exceedingly resisted the suggestion that you would love
the true gods. For you, being perverse,
the reward must become
fearful torment afterwards, unless you first
plead and be grateful to them
with sacrifices for your abusive language,
establish peace. Let this strife rest,
this hateful enmity. If you pursue deceptions
for a long time after this through your foolish error,
then I must, out of necessity, impelled by the fiercest
of hostilities, avenge this blasphemy,
this bitterly hurtful speech, in which you slanderously
began to strive against the greatest
and the most merciful of gods which men know,
which this nation, in its midst, has worshipped for a long time."
That noble spirit fearlessly answered him:
"I do not dread your judgment upon me,
you cursed evil-doer, nor the torment of your punishments.
I have the Guardian of heaven as a hope for me,
the merciful Protector, the Lord of hosts,
who will protect me against your sorcery,
from the clutches of fierce ones whom you consider as gods.
Those are devoid of every good thing,
useless, worthless, unprofitable,
nor does any man meet there with help,
with true peace, though he seeks
friendship with them. He will not find
prosperity among devils there. I fix my mind
on the Lord who rules over every host
forever, the Possessor of glory,
of every victory. That is the true King."
Then it seemed shameful to that commander
that he could not change the mind,

the intention of the maiden. He ordered her to be hanged and raised up
by the hair on a high tree,
where she, radiant, suffered a beating,
exceedingly fierce strife, for six hours of the day,
and afterwards he ordered her taken away at once,
the hateful persecutor, and bid her to be led
to prison. Christ's love was in her,
wound firmly around her spirit,
in her meek heart, an indestructible power.
Then the doors of the prison, the work of hammers,
were closed with a bar. The holy one, faithful,
dwelled in there. She always worshipped the King of glory,
the God of heaven's kingdom, the Savior of men
in her heart, in that prison,
covered with darkness. The Holy Spirit was
a constant companion for her. Then suddenly
an enemy of warriors, skilled in evil,
came into that dark building. He had the form of an angel,
wise in affliction, the enemy of the spirit,
hell's captive; he spoke to the holy one:
"Why do you suffer, the dearest
and the worthiest to the King of glory,
to our Lord? This judge has
prepared the worst of punishments for you,
endless pain, if you will not offer sacrifice,
wise in your mind, and propitiate his gods.
Be in haste when he orders you
to be led out of there, so that you quickly
give sacrifice as a victory-offering before death seizes you,
death before the troop. By this you shall,
blessed maiden, survive the anger of that judge."
Then she asked boldly, that one who was not afraid,
pleasing to Christ, where he came from.
The wretch pleaded with her:
"I am an angel of God journeying from above,
a noble thane, and am sent to you,
a holy one from on high. Severe torments,
wondrously cruel ones, are decreed for you
as deadly punishments. The good Son of our Ruler
orders me to tell you this, so that you might protect yourself."
Then the maiden was terrified with fear
at those dreadful tidings, when the fierce warrior,
the enemy of glory, spoke to her in words.
Then the young, innocent one steadfastly began
to establish her spirit, to call out to God:
"Now I will ask you, Protector of men,

eternally almighty, by that noble creation
that you, Father of angels, established at the beginning,
that you not let me turn away from the praise
of your blessed gift, as this messenger
who stands before me announces terrible tidings to me.
So, Merciful One, I will ask you
that you make known to me, King of glory,
Guardian of splendor, what this thane might be,
hovering in the air, who counsels me away from you
on a rough way." A voice responded to her,
radiant from the clouds, proclaimed these words:
"Seize that perverse one and hold him securely
until he rightly declares his journey,
everything from the beginning, what his origin might be."
Then the spirit of that maiden, of that one blessed with glory,
was gladdened. She seized that devil

* * *

"the King of all kings to sell to death.
Then again I contrived it so that the warrior began
to wound that Ruler --a troop looked on--
so that blood and water, the two both together,
sought the earth there. Then I incited Herod again
in his mind so that he commanded John's
head chopped off, when the holy one
reproved with words the husband of that woman
for his unlawful marriage. I also taught
Simon with shrewdness so that he began to struggle
against the chosen thanes of Christ,
and addressed the holy men with contempt
through profound delusion, said they were sorcerers.
Through crafty tricks I brought low Nero: I seduced him there,
so that he ordered Christ's thanes to be slaughtered,
Peter and Paul. Pilate previously
hanged on the cross the Ruler of the skies,
the mighty Lord, by my teaching.
Likewise I also taught Egias
so that he unwisely ordered holy Andrew
hanged on a high tree,
so that he sent forth his spirit from the gallows
into the brightness of glory. In this way, I,
with my brothers, performed many hostile deeds,
dark sins, so that I cannot declare,
relate in detail, nor count the punishments
of severe hostile designs." The holy one, Juliana,
responded to him through a gift of the Spirit:
"Enemy of mankind, you must tell me

yet further about this journey, about who sent you to me."
The fierce warrior gave her an answer,
seized with fear, despairing of peace:
"Listen, my father sent me here to you,
the king of hell-dwellers, on this journey
from that narrow home: he is more eager than I
for every evil in that sad home.
When he sends us so that we,
through perversion, may change the minds of the righteous,
turn them away from salvation, we are sad-minded,
afraid in our spirits. Nor is our lord merciful to us,
that fearful leader, if we have done
no evil; we do not dare
to travel anywhere into his sight afterwards.
When he sends his thanes from the darkness
over this wide earth, he orders them to raise up violence;
if we be met on the earth's way,
are found either near or far,
then they bind us and beat us with torture
in the surges of fire. If, through stumbling blocks,
we do not change the mind of the righteous,
the spirit of the holy ones, we suffer the severest
and the worst of punishments
through a painful blow. Now you yourself can
know the truth in your mind,
that I was impelled by necessity into this boldness,
persistently forced, so that I sought you."
Then again the holy one began to resist the warrior,
the creator of sin, to ask in words
the originator of great sin "You must say to me further,
enemy of souls, how you very greatly establish injury
for the righteous fallen into sins,
seized by deceit." The enemy responded to her,
the faithless wretch spoke in words:
"To you, blessed maiden, I will tell the origin
of every evil, forth to the end,
that I have performed not at all only a few times
by wounds of sins, so that therefore you
may more clearly know yourself that this is truth, not falsehood.
I expected and considered certain,
boldly thought that I could,
without difficulty, by my own skill,
turn you away from salvation so that you would refuse
the King of heaven, the Lord of victories, and submit to the inferior,
offer sacrifice to the originator of sins. In this way,
in various forms, I change the mind of the righteous.

Where I find a soul establishing itself
upon God's will, I am ready immediately
so that I might bear the pride of the mind against him,
numerous cruel thoughts,
secret errors, through a large number of delusions.
I sweeten the lust of sins for him,
wicked desires of the heart, so that he,
attached to vice, quickly obeys my teachings.
I inspire him so severely with these sins,
that he, burning, ceases from prayer,
advances boldly, cannot remain steadfast,
for the love of sins, for a long time
in a place of prayer. In this way I bring
hateful danger upon that one whom I begrudge of life,
of the light of faith; and if he will
obey my teaching through the desire of his mind
and will commit sin, he must,
deprived of noble virtues, turn away afterwards.
If I meet any courageous man,
a bold warrior of the Lord
against a storm of arrows, he will not retreat far from that place,
from that battle, but in opposition he,
wise in his thinking, raises his board, his holy shield,
his spiritual armor, will not turn away from God,
but he, brave in prayer, makes a stand
steadfast in that company; I must turn far away from there
downcast, deprived of joys,
in the grip of flames; must lament my cares,
that I could not triumph in war
by skill of power, but I, sorrowful, must
seek another more lacking in courage
beneath the war-hedge, an inferior warrior,
whom I can inspire with evil leaven,
hinder with war. Though he attempts
some spiritual matter, I am ready immediately
so that I contemplate all of his inner mind,
as to how secure his inner spirit may be,
how his resistance is fashioned. I open the wall-gate
through hostilities; when the tower is pierced,
the entrance opened, then I,
through the flight of arrows, first send forth inside him,
into his heart, cruel thoughts
through the various desires of his mind,
so that it seems better to him
to commit sins, the desire of the body,
above the praise of God. I am a teacher eager

that he live according to my sinful customs,
knowingly turned away from Christ's law,
his mind disturbed and under my control
in a pit of sin. I more eagerly care
about his soul, about the destruction of his spirit
than of his body, which, in the grave,
in the world, hidden in the earth, must become
a joy for the worm." Then the maiden spoke again:
"Explain, misshapen, unclean spirit,
how you associated yourself, ruler of darkness,
with the multitude of the chaste. You once fought against Christ,
faithless one, and brought about strife,
plotted against holy ones. The pit of hell was
dug below for you, where you, hard-pressed by need,
sought a dwelling because of your excessive pride.
I therefore expected that you should have been more prudent
against the righteous in such a contest,
and therefore less bold toward one who often resisted
your will through the King of glory."
Then the accursed one addressed her,
the wretched warrior: "You tell me first,
how you courageously, through deep reflection,
became so bold in battle beyond all of womankind,
so that you so strongly bound me in fetters,
entirely defenseless. You trusted
in your eternal God sitting in glory,
the Lord of mankind, just as I establish hope
in my father, the king of hell-dwellers.
When I am sent out against the righteous
so that I change their minds through wicked deeds,
turn their thoughts away from salvation, sometimes my will
is denied to me through resistance,
hope in the holy ones, as it happened to me here,
sorrow on my journey. I myself know that
much too late; I must now, committing sin,
suffer disgrace over this for a long time.
Therefore I implore you through the might of the Most High,
the favor of the King of heaven, he who
suffered on the tree of the cross, the Lord of glory,
that you show mercy to me in my need,
so that I, unfortunate, may not completely perish,
though I, bold and so rash
sought you on this journey, where I did not expect beforehand
such a severe time of sorrow for myself."
Then the radiant candle of glory
spoke these words to that troth-breaker:

"You must confess more of your wicked deeds,
lowly spirit from hell, before you may go from here,
what you have carried out with dark errors
as an injury, great sins
upon the children of men." That devil answered her:
"Now, through your speaking, I hear that
I must, out of necessity, hard-pressed by enmity,
reveal my mind as you command me,
suffer affliction. This pressure is very powerful,
this punishment boundless. I must suffer and endure
each thing according to your judgment,
reveal evil and dark deeds that I contrived
for a long time. Often I took away the power of sight,
blinded with evil thoughts countless sons
of the race of men, snatched away the gleam of their eyes
with a covering of mist, through the point of poison,
with dark showers, and I crushed the feet of some
through wicked thoughts, sent some into the fire,
into the locks of flame, so that the last
was seen of their tracks. I also caused it
so that the bone-locks of some spewed blood,
so that they suddenly gave up their lives
through the gushing of veins. Some were drowned on a sea-journey,
in the flood, in the water,
in the sea through my skill,
under the fierce current. Some I delivered to the cross,
so that they, blood-stained, gave up their life
on the high gallows. Some I enticed through instruction,
urged them into strife, so that they suddenly
renewed old grudges,
drunk with beer. I gave them reproach to drink
from the cup, so that they, doomed,
abandoned the souls of their bodies in the wine-hall
through sword-attack, hastened forth doomed,
proceeded in sorrow. Some I found there
without God's sign, careless,
unblessed, whom I,
through various kinds of death, cunningly, boldly, slew
with my own hands. I cannot tell you,
even though I sit a summer-long day,
about all the hardships that I performed through deceit
before and since, ever since the sky was
first raised up, and the course of the stars
and of the earth was established, and the first men,
Adam and Eve, whom I deprived of life,
and taught them so that they abandoned

the eternal love of God, the gift of prosperity,
and their bright, splendid paradise, so that misery for eternity came to pass
for both of them and likewise for their children,
the darkest of sins. What more must I tell
of endless evil? I cruelly brought forth
all sins throughout the nations
that have existed for a long time
from the creation of the world, of the race of men,
of men on the earth. None of them was
so bold who, in this way, dared to touch me
with their hands, as you, a holy one, do now,
nor was any one so bold over the earth
through holy power, none of the patriarchs
nor the prophets. Though the God of troops,
the King of glory, the Spirit of wisdom revealed to them
countless gifts, I yet
had passage to them. None of them
that so boldly covered me with bonds
overwhelmed me with misery before you now ,
when you overcame that great power of mine
which my father gave to me, seized it firmly,
when he, the enemy of mankind, ordered me to journey,
the prince of darkness, so that I should
sweeten sin for you. There sorrow has come upon me,
oppressive struggle. I have no need to exult
after the grievous persecution of this journey
in the host with my kinsmen, when I must,
sad, yield my tribute
in that mournful home." Then the prefect,
the angry man, ordered Juliana
to be led out of that narrow enclosure,
holy in her mind, to a parley with the heathen
at his judgment seat. Inspired in her heart,
she dragged that devil, securely in fetters,
she holy, he heathen. Then the troubled one began
to lament his journey, to bewail his sorrow,
to bemoan his fate, spoke in words:
"I implore you, my lady
Juliana, for the sake of God's peace,
that you do not work further insults upon me,
disgrace before men, than you did previously,
when you overcame the wisest
king of hell-dwellers under the darkness of confinement,
in the fortification of fiends: that is our father,
the evil lord of death. Listen, you rebuke me
through painful blows! I know as a truth

that I, before nor since, have never met any
woman like you in the kingdom of the world,
bolder in thought or more resolutely made
of the race of maidens. It is clear to me
that you have become entirely unashamed,
wise in your mind." Then the maiden let him go
after that time of misery to seek gloom
in the black abyss, to fight souls
in the destruction of punishments. He knew more readily,
that speaker of evil, what to say to his host,
to his thanes of misery, how it happened to him on that journey.

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eagerly before they
worshipped him and his holy word in the heights,
told truthfully that he alone ruled
in every victory over all creation,
over all eternal gifts of blessedness. Then an angel of God came,
shining with adornments, and pushed apart that fire,
liberated and protected that one pure of deceit,
free of sins, and cast down that flame,
slaughter-greedy, where the holy one stood,
chief of women, safe and sound in the middle.
For the wealthy one, that work was a distress,
as to whether he, stained with sins,
could change it for the world; how he most painfully,
through the worst of punishments,
could devise a violent death. The enemy who taught him
was not too slow, so that he ordered an earthen vessel
constructed by wondrous craft
with the noises of battle, and had it surrounded with logs
from the forest. Then the stern one bid
that someone fill that earthen vessel with lead,
and then ordered the greatest funeral fire kindled,
the heap set afire; it was surrounded with flames
on every side. The bath raged with heat.
Then, enraged, he quickly ordered
that one free of sins, without vices,
thrust into the current of lead. Then the fire became scattered,
broke loose. Lead burst forth widely,
hot, slaughter-greedy. The warriors became frightened,
overtaken by that onslaught. There were burned up
through the blast of that fire seventy-five in number
of that heathen army. Then the holy one stood again,
undefiled in splendor. Neither her ornaments nor clothing,
nor her hair nor skin was stained by fire,
nor her body nor limbs. She stood in the flame

entirely sound, declared her gratitude for everything
to the Lord of lords. Then the judge became
angry and savage, began to tear his clothing;
likewise, he grinned and gnashed his teeth,
raged in his misery like a wild animal,
roared, cruel-minded, and slandered his gods,
those who could not resist her power,
the will of the woman. The maiden of glory was
single-minded and unafraid, mindful of might,
of the will of God. Then the sorrowful judge
ordered that one holy in her mind
put to death through a sword-wound, the head
of Christ's chosen one deprived. That death did not profit him:
afterwards, he knew the consequence further.
Then the hope of the holy one was renewed
and that woman's mind was greatly gladdened,
after she learned from the warrior resolute
in evil counsel that the end
of her days of strife had to come about,
her life let loose. Then that one full of sins ordered
the pure and chosen one to be led to her death,
that one without sins. Then the lowly spirit from hell
whom she had previously bound, accursed
and afflicted with punishments, came suddenly,
sang a song of misery, wretched and miserable;
then he cried out in front of the company, full of songs of sorrow:
"Requite me now for the sorrow, that she despised
the might of our gods and most severely
diminished me, so that I became like a messenger.
Let her obtain rewards for the injuries
through the wound of a weapon, avenge old strife
sought in sin. Then I remember in sorrow
how I, secured in fetters, with boundless evil,
suffered torments in one night,
immeasurable evil." Then the blessed one,
Juliana, looked towards the fierce one again;
she heard the devil from hell sing his grief.
Then the enemy of mankind began to take to flight,
to seek his punishments, and spoke these words:
"Woe has ruined me! Now my expectation is great
that she will again oppress miserable me
with grievous evils, just as she did to me before."
Then she was led to the nearby boundary
and to the place where they, cruel-minded,
intended to kill her with hateful violence.
Then she began to teach the people about sins

and to exhort them with songs of praise, and promised them comfort,
a path to glory, and spoke these words:
"Remember the Joy of warriors and the Splendor of glory,
the Hope of holy ones, the God of heaven's angels.
He is worthy of this, that all in the nation
and all of the race of angels up in the heavens
worship him, the supreme Power, where help is available
forever to those who will have it.
Therefore I, beloved troop, will teach you,
fulfilling the law, so that you might
secure your house, lest winds destroy it
with a sudden blast. The walls must therefore
be more firmly strong to withstand the showers of storms,
the thoughts of sins. With the peace of love,
brightly with faith, with that Living
Stone, resolutely make fast the foundation;
with true faith and peace among you
hold in your hearts the holy counsels
through the mind's desire. Then the almighty Father will
grant you mercy, comfort when you have
the greatest need from the God of might
after troubles, because you yourselves do not know
of your going out from here, the end of your life.
It seems prudent to me that you, being vigilant,
hold guard against the crash of battle
of enemies, lest the adversary
hinder you your way to the stronghold of glory.
Ask the Son of God that the Ruler of angels,
the Lord of mankind, the Giver of victories
be merciful to me. Peace be with you,
ever true love." Then her soul was
led away from her body to that eternal joy
through a sword-blow. Then the villain,
fearful of heart, Heliseus,
sought the sea in a ship with a band of foes,
moved up and down over the stream for a long time,
on the swan-road. Death seized all
of that troop of warriors and himself with them
before they had crossed to land,
as a violent rebuke. There, thirty
and also four of the race of warriors
were deprived of their lives through the surging of the wave:
wretched ones along with their lord, deprived of joys,
sought hell without hope.
Those thanes in that dark home,
the band of comrades in that deep pit,

had no need to expect from that leader allotted
riches; that they, in the wine-hall,
over the mead-bench, should received rings,
appled gold. In a different way
the body of the holy one was led with songs of praise
by a great host to its grave,
so that they brought it into that stronghold,
a great number of people. Since then,
with the passage of years, the praise of God has been raised up there,
great splendor, until this day,
within the nation. To me, the need is great
that the holy one might perform a help for me
when the dearest of all things should part from me,
when two who are wed should tear apart their kinship,
their great love. My soul must go on a journey
from my body: I myself do not know where,
into an unknown land; I must
seek another because of previous works,
former deeds. Sorrowfully shall C [the torch], Y [the bow] and N [necessity]
depart. The King will be fierce,
the Giver of victories, when, guilty with sins,
E [the horse], W [joy], and U [the bison] will wait in terror
for what their judgment will be, for a reward
after the deeds of their life. L [the sea] and F [wealth] will tremble,
lie sorrowful. I, wounded by sins,
shall remember all the pain which I wrought in the world
recently or long ago, that I must, weeping,
lament with tears. That time was too late
when I first repented my evil deeds,
while soul and body journeyed together
unharmed on this earth. Then I have need of mercies,
so that the holy one might intercede for me
to the Highest King. This need reminds me,
great sorrow of mind. I ask each one
of the race of men, he who may utter this poem,
that he, earnest and bold, be mindful of me,
and in my name ask God
that the Protector of heaven perform a help for me,
the Ruler of might, on that great day;
the Father, the Spirit of comfort at that terrible time,
the Judge of deeds, and the dear Son,
when the Trinity, sitting in glory,
in unity with the race of this world's age
through glorious will, shall decree each man's reward
according to his deeds. Grant us, God of might,
that we may find, Joy of noble ones,

your face merciful at that great time. Amen.

Appendix C

Elene Translation

There was passed in the turning of years
two hundred and three counted in number,
likewise thirty also in the reckoning of time,
of winters in the world, since God the Ruler,
the Glory of kings, was born
on middle-earth in human form,
the Light of those steadfast in truth. That was the sixth year
of the reign of Constantine,
since he, the battle-chief, was raised up
in the kingdom of the Romans as leader of the army.
The very valiant shield-protector was
gracious to men. The prince's kingdom
grew under the heavens. He was a true king,
the war-lord of men. God strengthened him
with glory and might so that he became
a comfort to many men throughout middle-earth,
a misery to nations, since he raised up weapons
against enemies. Battle was declared to him,
the sound of war. An army assembled
from the people of the Huns and Hrethgoths,
of the Franks and the Hugas, advanced warlike.
Men were bold,
ready for battle. Spears shone,
twisted coats of mail. With words and shields
they raised battle-standards. Then the bold men
and all the kindred were clearly assembled together.
The host of the army advanced. The wolf in the forest
chanted a war-lay; he did not hide the murderous slaughter-words.
The dewy-feathered eagle raised up a song
in the tracks of the hateful ones. Suddenly
from the edge of the city the greatest of war-bands hastened
in armies to battle, such as the king of the Huns,
of the neighboring warriors,
could anywhere command to war.
The greatest of armies advanced. Foot-soldiers drew up in formation
with the choicest of troops, so that in the foreign nation
stout-hearted spearmen
camped on the shore, on the Danube,
by the surging of that water. They intended to press forward
against the kingdom of the Romans with the tumult of an army,
to plunder it with their armies. There the arrival of the Huns became
known to the citizens. Then the cæsar ordered

his warriors summoned to war
in great haste, men under the heavens
to bear out the force against the fierce warriors
under the flight of arrows. The Romans,
triumphant warriors, were immediately prepared
for war with weapons though they had a smaller troop
in battle than the king of the Huns.
They rode around the renowned one; then the shield dinned,
the battle-wood resounded, the king advanced with his band,
the army to battle. The raven flew up,
dark and fierce. The troop was in motion.
Trumpeters ran, heralds called out,
the horse trod the earth. The host gathered
swiftly to the conflict. The king was terrified,
frightened with terror after the foreign
army of the Huns and Hrethgoths appeared,
so that he gathered the troop, the host in countless number,
at the edge of the kingdom of the Romans,
around the shore of the water. The king of the Romans
bore sorrow in his mind: he did not have hope for the kingdom
because of a lack of troops; he had too few warriors,
shoulder-companions, bold ones for battle
against superior strength. The army camped,
the men around the prince, in the neighborhood
near the stream a night-long space of time
since they had first seen the expedition of enemies.
Then it was revealed to him, to that cæsar,
in sleep, a sign of victory
where he slept in that company, a revelation in a dream.
It seemed beautiful to him in the form of a man
white and radiant, some sort of warrior
revealed more peerless than he had ever seen
under heaven before or since. He started up from sleep
covered with a boar-image. Quickly the messenger,
the herald radiant in glory, spoke to him
and called him by name. The cover of night glided away.
"Constantine, the King of angels,
the Ruler of destinies, the Lord of troops,
has ordered a covenant offered to you. You should not be afraid,
though the foreign terror
of severe battle threatens. Look to the heavens,
to the Guardian of glory, where you will find for a help
a token of glory." He was immediately ready
through the command of the holy one, unbound his breast,
looked up as the messenger bid him,
the true peace-weaver. He saw a radiant tree of glory

over the roof of the clouds, bright in adornments,
adorned with gold: gems shone.
The shining tree was inscribed with letters,
brightly and radiantly: "With this sign you
will overcome the enemy on that terrible expedition,
hinder the hateful troop." Then that light departed,
journeyed up together with the messenger
to the multitude of the pure. The king was happier on that account
and more free of sorrow in his mind,
the leader of warriors, because of that fair sight.
Then the protector of princes, the ring-giver of men,
similarly ordered them to fashion with great haste
a sign of the cross of Christ
like that sign he saw, the leader of armies,
Constantine, the glorious king,
that was previously revealed to him from the heavens.
Then, at dawn, at daybreak,
the warrior ordered them to press forward and to carry before them
in battle, to bear into the multitude of enemies,
God's sign. Trumpets sang
loudly in front of the armies. The raven rejoiced in that work,
dewy-feathered, the eagle observed the journey,
the war of cruel ones. The wolf raised aloft his song,
the forest's companion. The terror of battle rose.
There was a crash of shields and the press of men,
severe hand-to-hand combat and the slaughter of armies
after they first met in arrow-flight.
Upon that doomed people the very fierce antagonists
sent forth showers of arrows,
spears over yellow shields into that multitude of fierce ones,
battle-serpents through the power of fingers.
Resolute ones advanced, at times pressed forward,
broke shield coverings; swords pierced in,
brave ones forged ahead. Then the banner of plumes was raised,
the sign for the troops: they chanted a victory lay.
Golden helmets, spears shone
on the battlefield. The heathens perished,
savage ones fell dead. The people of the Huns,
fighting ones, fled directly;
the king of the Romans ordered that holy tree
raised. Warriors were
scattered widely. War destroyed some.
Some, with difficulty, saved their life
in that campaign. Some, half-alive,
fled to a stronghold and protected their life
behind stony cliffs, guarded that place

by the Danube. Drowning destroyed some
in the river at their life's end.
Then the host of bold ones was filled with cheer,
attacked the foreign people from the beginning of the day
until evening advanced. Spears flew,
war-snakes. The throng of hateful ones, armed with shields,
was destroyed. Very few
of the army of the Huns arrived home again from that place.
Then it was seen that the almighty King
had given that victory to Constantine
for that day's work, honor,
power under the heavens, through his true cross.
Then the protector of armies went home again from there,
exulting in plunder --the battle was decided--
honored in war. Then the protector of warriors came
with a band of thanes to seek his stronghold,
the battle-bold king to seek his city.
Then the guardian of warriors ordered the wisest men
quickly to a synod, those who had skill in wisdom,
who had learned about the ancient writings,
who held the counsels of men in their thoughts.
Then the leader of the people, the victory-bold king,
began to ask among the large troop
if there were any, old or young,
who could say to him, the ruler of that building,
in truth, make known to him in speech,
what that god might have been, 'he whose sign this was,
who showed me such a light, the brightest of signs,
and saved my people and gave me glory,
success in war, against hostile ones through that radiant tree.'
They could not give him any answer
in return, nor did they know fully and exactly
how to tell clearly about that victory-sign.
Then the wisest men said with words
before the multitude that it was
a sign of the King of heaven, and there was no doubt about this.
When those who had been instructed through baptism
learned about this, light was in their mind;
their spirit rejoiced, though they were few,
that they might make known to that ruler
the gift of the gospel, how the Protector of spirits
honored in glory in the Trinity
was born, the King of glory,
and how on a gallows God's own son
was hanged before the armies with severe punishments.
The Son set loose the people, the mourning spirits,

from the prison of devils and gave them a gift
through that same work that was revealed to Constantine
himself in a vision, a sign of victory
against the force of that people. And how on the third day
in the grave the Glory of men
rose from the dead, the Lord of men,
of the race of men, and mounted up into the heavens.
Thus they wisely told about the
triumphant spiritual mysteries as they were taught
by Sylvester. From them the leader
received baptism and held it from that time on,
through the days of his life, according to the Lord's will.
Then the dispenser of treasure was happy,
the brave king. A new joy was
granted to his spirit, the Guardian of heaven's kingdom
was the greatest of comforts to him and the highest of hopes.
Then he eagerly began both day and night
to make known the law of the Lord through a gift of the Spirit,
and truly the gold-friend of men
hastened himself in God's service,
brave in battle, not slow. Then the prince,
the guardian of the nation, bold in battle, spear-mighty,
found through teachers in God's books
where the Guardian of the heavens was hanged
on the rood-tree to the acclaim of an army,
out of the guile of envy as the old enemy
seduced them through wiles, led astray the nation,
the race of the Jews, so that they hanged God himself,
the Creator of armies. Because of this they must,
in humiliation, forever endure damnation.
Then the love of Christ was in the mind
of that cæsar --from that time on mindful
of that glorious tree-- and then he ordered his mother
to go on that way with a band of people
to Judea, to seek eagerly
with that band of warriors where the tree of glory,
holy under the earth, might be hidden,
the cross of the noble King. Elene would not
become reluctant about that journey,
nor would she despise the word of that gracious giver,
of her own son, but she was immediately ready,
the woman on that joyful journey, just as the protector of troops,
of byrnied warriors, had bid her.
Then the crowd of men quickly began
to hasten to the sea. Sea-horses
stood ready at the ocean's shore,

moored sea-steeds near the sea.
That woman's journey was then evident
after the protector of the waves sought the troop.
There many a proud one stood on the shore
of the Mediterranean. At times, one host after another
pressed forward along that border-road,
and then they loaded wave-steeds
with coats of mail, with shields and spears,
with byrnied warriors, with men and women.
Then they let the tall ships
glide over the foamy sea. The ship's side often received
the blows of the waves in the surging the sea;
the sea resounded. I have never heard, before nor since,
of a woman leading a more fair host
on the sea-stream, on the sea-road.
There one who beheld the journey could see
the sea-wood hasten, breaking over the watery path,
the sea-steed under swelling sails moving quickly,
the ship advancing. Warriors were happy,
bold-spirited; the queen rejoiced in the journey
after the ring-prowed ships had passed
over the water-fastness into the harbor,
into the land of the Greeks. They left their ships
on the sea-shore beaten upon by the sand,
the old ships securely at anchor,
to wait by the sea for the fate of the men
when the war-queen should seek them again
with a band of men over the east-road.
To a man there was clearly visible
linked byrnie and excellent sword,
magnificent coat of mail, many a visored helmet,
the peerless boar-image. Fighters
were around the victory-queen, warriors made eager for that journey.
Bold army-warriors advanced in high spirits
to the land of the Greeks, heralds of the cæsar,
warriors clothed in adornments.
There was visible on that army
valuable gems set with jewels, gifts of their lord.
The blessed Elene, bold in thought,
was mindful of the will of that prince,
eager in her mind that with the excellent throng
of warriors she sought the land
of the Jews, over battlefields,
with a band of warriors. So it happened afterwards
in a little space of time that the troop of men,
courageous warriors, came to Jerusalem,

into that city with the greatest of companies,
illustrious men, with that noble queen.
Then she asked it to be announced to the wisest
city-dwellers far and wide
among the Jews, to each man,
to come to a meeting at the meeting place,
those who knew how to expound most deeply
the mysteries of the Lord through the true law.
Then no little host was assembled
from distant parts, those who knew how to expound
the law of Moses. There were three thousand
of those people in number
selected for the instruction. The lovely woman began
to address the men of the Hebrews with words:
"I have readily perceived
through the mystic sayings of wise men,
in God's books, that in days gone by you
were worthy to the King of glory,
dear and bold to the Lord.
Listen, you unwisely and hatefully spurned
all your wisdom when you cursed that one
who intended to release you from damnation
through the might of his glory, from fiery torment,
from imprisonment. You spewed with filth
in the face of him who performed a remedy
for blindness, light for your eyes
afresh through that noble spittle,
and who often saved you
from the unclean spirits of devils. You then began to judge
to death him who from death itself
raised up the world among the company of men
in that earlier life of your race.
So you, spiritually blind, began to mingle
lie with truth, light with darkness,
envy with honor, contrived slander
with malicious thoughts. Damnation will therefore harm
you, guilty of sins. You began to judge
the radiant might and lived in error,
in dark thoughts, until this day.
Go quickly now: think of wisdom,
men firm in wisdom, skilled in word;
think of who, skilled in their virtues,
might have your law foremost in their spirit,
who can truly tell me,
make known an answer on your behalf,
about each one of the signs that I seek from them."

The men skilled in law then went away
gloomy-minded, tormented by terror,
sorrowful in anxiety, eagerly sought
the wisest in mystic sayings
so that they could answer the queen
whether for good or evil, as she had sought from them.
Then they found one thousand wise men
among the band who most readily knew
the memory of former times among the Jews.
Then they pressed forward in a band to where the kinswoman of that cæsar
waited in glory on the throne,
the magnificent war-queen adorned with gold.
Elene addressed them and spoke before the men:
"Hear, wise ones, the holy mystery,
word and wisdom. Listen, you received the teaching
of prophets, how the Giver of life
was born in the form of a child,
the Ruler of might, the guardian of the Israelites,
about whom Moses sang and spoke these words:
'To you a boy-child famed for his might
is born in secret, whose mother is not
got with child, with offspring, through the love of a man.'
About this King David chanted a noble lay,
the wise sage, father of Solomon,
and spoke these words, that lord of warriors:
'I once looked upon the God of creation,
the Lord of victory. He was in my sight,
the Ruler of hosts, on my right side,
the Shepherd of glory. From there I shall
never turn my face.'
Likewise, the prophet Isaiah also spoke formally in words
to you about it, before the troops,
deep-thinking through the Lord's spirit:
'I raised up a young son
and bore children to whom I gave prosperity,
holy comfort of mind; but they despised me,
hated me through enmity, did not possess understanding of forethought
nor of wisdom; and the wretched beasts
whom man drives and beats each day
understand their benefactor, do not at all vindictively
hate their friend who gives them fodder,
and yet the people of Israel would never
acknowledge me, though I performed
many wonders for them in the world.'
"Listen, we heard through the holy book
that the Lord God gave you uncorrupted fame,

success in might. Moses said
how you must obey heaven's King,
follow his teachings. This soon displeased you,
and you had opposed that law,
rejected that shining Creator of all,
the Lord of lords, and persisted in error
against God's law. Now go quickly
and find again those who might know
the ancient records best through the skill of wisdom,
your law, that might be able to tell me
an answer through a capacious mind."
Then they went with a crowd, sorrowful-minded,
bold-spirited, as the queen had bid them.
Then they found five hundred of the very wisest men
selected from their compatriots, those who
had the most learning through intelligence,
wisdom in their mind. Again they were invited
to the hall after a little space of time,
the guardians of the city. The queen began
to address them with words, she looked upon them all:
"Often you have performed foolish deeds,
wretched men, and despised the writings,
the teachings of the fathers. Never have you despised that remedy
for your blindness and denied
truth and right more than you do now,
that in Bethlehem the Son of the Ruler,
the only-begotten King, was born,
the Best of princes. Though you knew the law,
the words of wise men, you would not then,
doers of sin, recognize the truth."
Then they answered with one voice:
"Listen, we learned the law of the Hebrews
that our fathers knew in days gone by,
on God's ark; we do not readily understand
why you, lady, have been so severely
angry with us. We do not know that transgression,
terrible evils, that we ever performed
in this nation against you."
Elene addressed and spoke to the men,
the woman spoke plainly,
loudly before the hosts: "Go now quickly,
seek apart those among you who might have
the greatest wisdom, strength and intelligence,
so that they can boldly make known to me each thing
honestly, what I ask of them."
Then they went from that counsel as the powerful queen,

bold in strongholds, had bid them;
sad-minded, they earnestly considered,
sought in wisdom what it might be
that they had performed in that nation
against the cæsar, of which the queen accused them.
Then one of the men very wise in traditional knowledge,
skilled in word, spoke there
--Judas was his name-- "I know exactly
that she wishes to seek that victory-tree
on which the Ruler of peoples, lacking all sins,
suffered, God's own Son,
the one guiltless of all sins,
whom our fathers, through hatred,
hanged on a high tree in days gone by.
That was a terrible thought! Now the need is great
that we firmly establish our spirit,
that we not become informers of that murder,
about where that holy tree was buried
after that war-strife, lest the wise ancient records
be destroyed and the paternal
teachings abandoned. It will not be long after that
that the race of Israel
and the religion of men will rule no more
over middle-earth if this be known,
just as that same triumphant grandfather of mine
said previously -- Zaccheus was his name --
the wise sage, to my father
* * *
to his son.
He was departing from this world and spoke these words:
'If it should happen to you in the days of your life
that you hear wise men
ask about that holy tree and raise up strife
about that victory-tree on which the true King
was hanged, the Guardian of heaven's kingdom,
the Son of all peace, then quickly confess,
my dear son, before death takes you.
After that, the people of the Hebrews,
deliberating ones, will never be able to hold the kingdom,
rule over their wealth, but their glory
and their lordship will live on
forever and ever bereft of joys,
because of those who worship and praise that hanged King.'
"Then I boldly gave an answer
to my father, to the one wise in the law:
'How would that be in the kingdom of the world

that our fathers should send the holy one
from their hands to death
in hostile understanding, if they knew previously
that he was Christ, King in the heavens,
the true Son of God, Savior of souls?'
"Then my father gave me an answer,
wise in his spirit my father spoke:
'Understand, young man, that the sublime power of God,
the name of the Savior, is ineffable
for any man; man cannot discover it
on earth himself.
I was never willing to pursue the plan
that this people began, but I always
separated myself from those guilty deeds, not at all worked shame
upon my spirit. Often, I earnestly
carried out opposition to them for that injustice
when the elders held council,
sought in their minds how they might hang the Son of God,
the Protector of men, Lord of all
angels and men, the Noblest of sons.
Such foolish ones could not inflict death,
wretched men, as they had previously hoped,
make wounds, though for a certain time he did
send forth his spirit on the gallows,
the victorious Son of God. Then afterwards
the Ruler of the heavens was raised up from the cross,
the Glory of all glories. Afterwards, he waited
three nights in the grave,
in a dark place, and then on the third day
the Light of all light arose living,
the Prince of angels, and to his thanes
the true Lord of victories revealed himself,
bright in prosperity. Then your brother
received after a period of time the bath of baptism,
the light of faith. Then for the love of the Lord
Stephen was stoned to death;
he did not yield evil for evil, but the patient one interceded
for his old enemies, bid the King of glory
that he not set the sorrow-bringing deed upon them in retribution,
because out of envy they deprived
a guiltless man, a sinless one, of life
at Saul's instruction, just as he in his enmity
condemned to death, to execution,
many of Christ's people. Nevertheless, the Lord
showed mercy to him again, so that he became
a comfort to many of the people after the God of new beginnings,

the Savior of men, changed his name,
and afterwards he was called by the name
Saint Paul, and none
of the doctors of the law under the protection of heaven,
of those women or men born into the world,
was ever after better than he,
though he ordered Stephen, your brother,
slain by stones on the hill.
"'Now you can hear, my beloved son,
how gracious is the Ruler of all--
though we often work transgression against him
through the wound of sins-- if we
perform a remedy for our evil deeds immediately after
and again desist from our wrongdoing.
Therefore I and my dear father truly
believed afterwards
that the God of all glories, the Lord of life,
suffered hateful torment
for the great need of the race of men.
Therefore I teach you through wise counsel,
most beloved boy, that you do not ever
commit insult, envy nor blasphemy,
a grim answer, against God's Son.
Then you will deserve the best of rewards for victory,
eternal life, given to you in the heavens.'
"Thus in days gone by my father
taught me, not grown, with words,
instructed me with true sayings: Simon was his name,
a man made wise by his sorrows. You do not exactly know
in your mind what seems best to you
to reveal if this queen asks us
about that tree; now you know
my mind and opinion."
Then, in reply, the wisest men
in that band of men addressed him with words:
"Never have we heard any man
among this people, another thane
except you now, make known such things
about so secret an event. Do as it seems best to you,
wise in ancient teachings, if you are questioned
among the company of men. He will have need of wisdom,
of cunning words, and the cleverness of a sage,
who must give an answer to that noblewoman,
in front of such a band in council."
Words grew into speeches, men took counsel
on each side, some here, some there,

deliberated and thought. Then a throng of thanes came
to that battle-assembly. Heralds, messengers of the cæsar,
called out: "This queen invites you
men to the hall, so that you might truly expound
the assembly's decrees. There is a need for your counsel
in the meeting place, wisdom of mind."
They were completely sad-minded
princes when they were invited
through severe command. They went to the house,
made known the strength of their skill. Then the queen
began to address the Hebrew men with words,
to ask the wretched ones about the ancient records,
how wise men sang previously in the world,
men holy in spirit, about God's Son,
where the Prince, the true Son of God,
suffered for the love of souls.
They were stubborn, harder than stone,
would not rightly make known that mystery
nor say to her, the bitter foes,
any answer that she sought from them,
but they, firm in their spirit, enacted a contradiction
for every word that she began to ask;
they said that they had never in their life,
before nor since, heard of any such thing.
Elene addressed them and said angrily:
"I will say to you in truth--
and upon my life it will not become a lie--
that if you who stand before me persist in this lie
for a long time with vile deceit,
a fire will destroy you in the burial place,
the hottest of fierce flames, and will destroy your body,
flames leaping up, for that lie must
be accounted to you in death.
You cannot prove those words, you who just now, in wrong,
hide under cover of sins, nor can you conceal that event,
conceal that deep might." Then they were in expectation of death,
of fire and of life's end, and there and then they handed over one
very wise in traditional knowledge --Judas was his name,
named for his kinsman-- whom they gave to the queen
and proclaimed singularly wise: "He can make known to you the truth,
disclose the mystery of the events as you inquire of him,
the law from the beginning forth until the end.
He is of a noble race on the earth,
wise in eloquence and the son of a prophet,
bold in council; wisdom is innate to him,
so that he has wise answers,

skill in his breast. He will make known to you
before this crowd of men the gift of wisdom
through that great might, as your mind pleases."
She allowed each one to seek his own native land
in peace and took that one,
Judas, as a hostage, and then earnestly bid
that he show her the truth about that cross
that was previously concealed for a long time in a resting-place,
and called him aside on his own.
Elene spoke formally to that solitary man,
that glorious queen: "For you two things are ready,
either life or death, as it may be more dear to you
to choose. Now make known quickly
what you will consent to on this matter."
Judas replied to her. He could not avoid that anxiety
nor change the regal enmity; he was under the power of that queen:
"How can it be for that one who, weary and without food,
treads in the wilderness, treads the moorland
oppressed with hunger, and both bread and stone
are together in his sight,
hard and soft, so that he should take the stone
as a refuge against hunger and not take heed of the loaf,
turn away in want and then refuse the food,
scorn the better, when he has both at his disposal?"
Then the blessed Elene plainly
gave him an answer before the men:
"If you will have a native land among the angels
in the kingdom of heaven, reward of victory in heaven
and life on earth, tell me quickly
where the King of heaven's cross dwells,
holy under the earth, which you hid from men
for awhile now on account of that wickedness."
Judas spoke formally. He was sad-minded,
hot about the heart, and then both
the hope of heaven's kingdom would darken for him
and he would forsake this present
kingdom under the heavens if he did not point out the cross:
"How can I find that which existed so long ago
in the course of years? Now a great number has hastened away,
two hundred or more tallied in number.
I cannot say, nor do I know that number now.
Now many wise and good men,
clever men, who lived before us
have since gone forth. I was in my youth
at a later time, born afterwards,
a young warrior. I cannot find in my spirit

what I do not know, what existed so long ago."
Elene addressed him with an answer:
"How did that happen in this nation
that you know so many things in your memory,
like each of the signs the Trojans
performed in battle? That open ancient strife
was far greater in the course of years
than this noble event. You can completely
and quickly expound that, what slaughter there was altogether
in terms of the total number of men,
of javelin-throwing warriors fallen dead
behind the shield-wall. You will have established in writings
the tomb under the stone-cliffs,
and likewise that place and the number of years."
Judas spoke formally, bore grievous sorrow:
"We clearly remember that warfare
out of dire necessity, my lady,
and established in records the behavior of that people
in that strife, and never heard this
through any man's mouth
made known to men, except here and now."
The noble queen gave him an answer:
"You deny the truth and accuracy
about that tree of life too severely; you spoke truthfully
to your people about that victory-tree
a little before now, and now you turn to lies."
Judas replied to her, said that he spoke that out of anxiety
and in the most severe doubt, expected humiliating affliction for himself.
The kinswoman of the cæsar answered him quickly:
"Listen, we heard made known to men
through holy books that on Calvary
the noble Son of the King was hanged,
God's spiritual Son. You must completely
disclose that wisdom, just as you seek it in the writings,
about the plain, where that place may be,
Calvary, before death takes you,
death for your sins, so that I can
purify it afterwards according to Christ's will
as a help to men, so that holy God
may fulfill for me, the mighty Lord, the glorious Giver to troops,
the Helper of spirits, the intention of my life
and my joy." Judas answered her
boldly: "I do not know that place,
nor anything about that plain, nor do I know about the matter."
Elene spoke formally with an earnest mind:
"I swear through the Son of God,

the hanged God, that you must be killed
with hunger in front of your kinsmen,
unless you let go of those lies
and clearly make the truth known to me."
So then she ordered him, guilty,
led from that company alive --servants did not hesitate--
pushed into a dry pit, where he, bereft of his retinue,
abided in sorrows for a period of seven nights
in prison, tormented by hunger,
bound in fetters, and then he began to call out,
exhausted with pain on the seventh day,
weary and without food; his strength was diminished:
"I beseech you through the God of the heavens
that you let me up from these troubles,
wretched from the torment of hunger. I will gladly make known
that holy tree; I cannot conceal it any longer now
because of hunger. This captivity is too strong now,
this cruel necessity too severe and this affliction thus too hard
in the passing of days. I cannot endure it
nor conceal things about the tree of life any longer,
though previously I was possessed by folly
and recognized that truth too late myself."
When she who ruled there over men heard that,
that man's attitude, she quickly bid
that someone let him go up from his imprisonment
and from prison, from that narrow home.
They quickly carried that out,
and immediately, mercifully, let him up
from prison, just as the queen had bid them.
Then they advanced to that place boldly,
up to that hill where the Lord
was previously hanged on the gallows, the Guardian of heaven's kingdom,
God's Son, and Judas, humbled by hunger,
did not exactly know where the holy cross
was enclosed in the earth through the treachery of the enemy,
for a long time firm in its resting place; hidden from the people,
it dwelled in that slaughter-bed. At once he raised up words
revealing courage, and spoke in Hebrew:
"Lord and Savior, you possess the power of judgment
and you created through the might of your glory
heaven and earth and the stormy sea,
the broad bosom of the sea together with all creation,
and you measure with your hands
all the heavens and the firmament
and you yourself sit, Ruler of glories,
above the most noble race of angels

that travels through the air wound about with light
in great majesty. The race of men cannot
travel above from earth's way
in their bodies among the host of light,
messengers of glory. You, holy and heavenly,
created them and established them
in your service. Six of them in rank
are named to eternal joy,
who are also surrounded, adorned
with six wings, shine fairly.
Four of these who are always in flight
perform in the service of glory
before the sight of the eternal Judge,
perpetually sing in glory,
in clear voices, the praise of heaven's King,
the most radiant of songs, and say these words
with pure voices --Cherubim is their name--
'Holy is the God of holy archangels,
the Ruler of troops! Heaven and earth
are full of his glory and show forth
the glory of all sublime power.' Two are in
the victorious race in heaven that one calls by name
the Seraphim. A Seraph must guard
holy paradise and the tree of life
with his fiery sword. The hard edge quakes,
the patterned blade trembles and the color changes,
terribly firm in his grasp. Thus you, Lord God,
rule forever and you cast out sinful
evil-doers, foolish wretches,
from the heavens. Then the wretched band
had to fall beneath the dark dwelling of earth
into the destruction of torments, where they now, in the surging fire,
endure agony in the bosom of the dragon,
enveloped in darkness. The dragon strove against
your authority. For this, he, full of all foulness,
guilty, must suffer in misery,
endure bondage. There he cannot
cast aside your word: he is bound firm in torments,
the creator of all sin bound in torture.
"If it should be your will, Ruler of angels,
that he who was on the cross and was born
through Mary on this middle-earth
in the form of a child, the Prince of angels,
should reign --if he was not
your sinless Son, he would never have performed
so many true wonders in the kingdom of the world

in his lifetime; nor would you have raised him up from death
so gloriously, the Ruler of people,
in front of the troops, if he was not your Son
in your glory, through that bright one--
give forth your sign now, Father of angels.
Just as you listened to that holy man
Moses in council, when you, God of might,
revealed to that man Joseph's bones
under the mountainside at the glorious time,
so I will ask you, Joy of troops,
--if it be your will through that bright creation--
that you reveal that gold-hoard to me,
Creator of spirits, that was hidden from men
for a long time. Creator of life, permit
smoke to rise up joyfully now
from that place under the orbit of the heavens
moving hither and thither in the air. I shall believe the better
and more firmly establish my spirit,
unwavering hope, in the hanged Christ,
he that is truly the Savior of souls,
the eternal, almighty King of Israel
who rules forever over the eternal dwellings
of glory in the heavens, forever and ever."
Then from that place steam rose up
like smoke under the heavens. There the spirit of the man
was lifted up. With both hands he,
blessed and wise, clapped upwards.
Judas spoke formally, wise in thought:
"Now I myself have recognized through truth
in my hard heart that you are the Savior
of middle-earth. To you, God of hosts,
sitting in glory, be thanks without end
because you, through your glory, have disclosed to me,
to one so wretched and such a sinner, the mystery of destiny.
Now, Son of God, I will ask you,
Ruler of troops, now that I know you are
the proclaimed and incarnate Glory of all kings,
that you, God, not be mindful anymore
of my sins, which I performed
not at all a few times. Permit me, God of might,
to dwell in a portion of your kingdom
with a number of the holy ones
in that bright city, where my brother is
honored in glory because he, Stephen,
kept the covenant with you, though he was
stoned to death. He has the reward of a warrior,

prosperity without end. In the books,
in the writings are made known the wonders that he worked."
Then the joyful one, that one resolute in courage,
began to delve into the earth after the tree of glory,
under the sod, so that he found it
buried far, hidden below
in the deep pit, in a dark chamber,
at twenty feet. There he met three
of the crosses together in that sorrowful home,
buried in the earth, just as the band of impious people,
the race of the Jews, had covered them in the earth
in days gone by. They raised up hostility
against God's Son, as they never should
if they had not listened to the teachings of the creator of sins.
Then his mind was greatly gladdened,
his mind strengthened by that holy tree,
his mind inspired after he saw that holy sign
under the earth. He grasped round the joyous tree of glory
with his hands, and with a troop raised it up
from the grave. Travelers on foot,
noble ones, went into that city.
Then they, resolute, bold-spirited men
set down the three victory-trees in Elene's sight,
before her knees. In her spirit,
the queen rejoiced in that work, and then began to ask
upon which of the trees the Son of the Ruler,
the Hope-giver of men, was hanged:
"Listen, we have heard it clearly made known
in holy books that two
suffered with him and that he himself was the third
on the rood-tree. All the heavens darkened
at that cruel time. Say, if you know,
on which of these three the Prince of angels
suffered, the Shepherd of glory."
Judas could not clearly make known to her,
nor did he know exactly on which of the victory-trees
the Savior was raised up,
the victorious Son of God, before he ordered the trees
set down in the middle of that glorious city,
amid the celebration, and to wait there
until the almighty King made a miracle known to them
about that tree of glory before those troops.
The triumphant ones, wise ones, sat,
raised up songs around the three trees
until the ninth hour; they had gloriously met
a new joy. Then a crowd came there,

no small multitude, and brought one who had passed away,
a lifeless young man, on a bier
into the neighborhood with a band of men.
That was the ninth hour. Then Judas was
greatly gladdened in his mind.
Then he ordered the soulless one set down,
the body deprived of life on the earth,
unliving, and he who reveals the truth,
wise in his breast, deeply meditative,
raised up two of the trees
over that doomed house. It was as dead as before,
the body firmly in its resting place. The limbs grew cold,
overwhelmed by cruel necessity. Then the holy third one
was raised up. The corpse was waiting
until the cross of the Prince
was raised up over him, the tree of heaven's King,
the true victory-sign. He immediately arose
provided with a spirit, body and soul
both together. Fair praise was raised up
among that people there. They honored the Father
and the true Son of the Ruler,
worshipped them with words. To them be the glory and thanks
of all creation without end!
Then those miracles that the Lord of troops,
the Lord of life, wrought
for the salvation of the race of men
were in their spirits, present in the minds of that people,
just as it must be in them forever. Then a deceitful fiend
rose up there, flying in the air.
Then the devil from hell began to cry out,
the terrible wretch, mindful of evils:
"Lo, what is this that again destroys my
retinue of men through ancient strife,
increases old hostility, robs me of possessions?
This is perpetual strife. Sinful souls
are not allowed to dwell in my possession
for a long time. Now comes a foreigner
whom I previously counted firm in sins:
he has deprived me of what is my due,
of treasures. That journey is not fair!
The Savior perpetrated many harms upon me,
grievous hostilities, he who was reared
in Nazareth. Since he grew
from childhood, he has always been turning over
my possessions. Now I may not
succeed in any truth. His kingdom is broad

over middle-earth, my authority diminished
under the heavens. I have no need to worship
the cross with exultation. Listen, the Savior
often enclosed me in that narrow home
to the sorrow of wretched ones! Previously, I was full of hope
through Judas and am now humbled,
deprived of good things through Judas again,
outlawed and friendless. Yet I shall be able to find
reversals against that by subterfuges
from hell. I will raise up
another king against you who will persecute yours,
and he will abandon your teaching
and follow in my sinful customs,
and then send you into the darkest
and the worst terrible punishments
so that you, afflicted with pains, will firmly deny
your crucified king whom you obeyed previously."
Then wise-minded Judas answered him,
the man bold in battle --the Holy Spirit was
firmly granted to him, fire-hot love,
understanding welling up through the wisdom of the Wise One--
and spoke these words, full of wisdom:
"You need not, so severely mindful of sins,
renew the pain and raise up strife,
wicked ruler of death: the mighty King,
he who raised up many of the dead with a word
will hurl you, sinful one,
devoid of judgment, into the abyss below,
into the depths of torture. May you know the more clearly
that you forsook in foolishness
the Brightest of lights and the love of the Lord,
that fair Joy, and dwelled afterwards
in a fire-bath, encompassed in tortures,
burned in fire, and must always,
malevolent, endure damnation there,
misery without end." Elene heard
how the fiend and the friend raised their contest,
the glorious and the evil on two sides,
the sinful and the blessed. Her mind was the gladder
because she heard the wretch from hell,
the giver of sins, overcome,
and then marveled at the wisdom of that man,
how he, so full of faith, in so little a space of time
--and so ignorant-- had ever become
imbued with wisdom. She thanked God,
the King of glory, because her will had come to pass for her

through the Son of God in each of two things:
both at the sight of that victory-tree
and in the faith that she so clearly recognized,
the glorious gift in that man's breast.
Then the glorious morning news was reported
to that people, widely spread
throughout that nation --to the vexation of many,
of those who would hide the law of the Lord--
and proclaimed throughout strongholds, in each city
that the sea encircles, that Christ's cross,
long since buried in the earth, was found:
the best of victory-signs, of those that were raised,
holy under the heavens, before or since;
and that was, to the Jews, the greatest of sorrows,
the most hateful of events to wretched men
since they could not, for the world, change it,
to the joy of Christians. Then the queen bid
throughout the host of men for messengers to hasten
quickly on a journey. They had to
seek the lord of the Romans over the wretched sea
and to tell that warrior himself
the greatest of joyful news, that the glory-sign
that was hidden for many years previously
to the vexation of holy Christian people
had been discovered through the grace of God,
found in the earth. Then the mind of the king
was gladdened by those glorious words,
his spirit rejoiced. Then there was no lack of questioners
in garments ornamented with gold, who had traveled from afar,
in that city. With that joyful news,
the greatest of comforts in the world had come to pass for him,
an exulting spirit, which that leader's messengers
brought to him over the roads from the east,
how the men, with that victory-queen, had made
a safe journey over the swan-road
to the land of the Greeks. The cæsar ordered them
to prepare themselves again with great haste
for a journey. Men did not hesitate
once they heard his answer,
the prince's word. He ordered the battle-brave ones
to bid Elene greeting if they should survive the sea
and could make a safe journey,
bold-minded warriors, to the holy city.
Then Constantine also ordered
the messengers to bid her to build
a church there on that mountainside

for the benefit of both of them, the Lord's temple
on Calvary for Christ's pleasure
and as a help to men, where the holy tree
was found, the most glorious of trees
of those that earth-dwellers asked about
on earth's way. She therefore carried that out
after her kinsmen brought from the west,
over the fastness of the sea, many a glad tiding.
Then the queen ordered the best men
trained in their crafts to be sought from diverse places,
those who most wondrously knew how to create
in the mason's art, to build God's temple
in that place, just as the Guardian of souls
told her from the heavens. Then she ordered them
to adorn the cross with gold and with precious stones,
to set it artfully with the most noble
jewels and then to lock it up with a clasp
in a silver vessel. That tree of life,
the best of victory-woods, dwelled there afterwards,
unviolable in its nobility. It is always ready there
as a help to the infirm in every torment,
strife and sorrow. There, they will immediately
find help through that holy creation,
through the divine gift. Then Judas,
faithful to Christ, dear to the Guardian of life,
received the bath of baptism in due time
and was cleansed. His faith became
firm in his spirit after the Spirit of comfort
occupied a place in that man's breast,
encouraged him to repentance. He chose the better thing
--the joy of glory-- and strove against the worse
--idolatry-- and struck down error
and untrue law. The eternal King,
the Lord, God, the Ruler of might, was merciful to him.
Then he who was baptized, who despised ready light
many times before,

* * *

inspired in his breast with that better life,
turned to glory. Indeed, that destiny was decreed,
that he should become so full of faith
and so dear to God in the kingdom of the world,
pleasing to Christ. That became known
after Elene ordered Eusebius,
the bishop of Rome, a very wise man,
as a counsel, to be brought as a help
to that holy city for the counsel of men,

in that he appointed Judas to the priesthood
in Jerusalem, as a bishop
for the people in that city,
chose him for his skills by the gift of the Spirit
for God's temple, and upon wise consideration
afterward named him afresh
Cyriacus. The name of the man
was changed from that time to that better one,
"the law of the Savior." Then still the mind
of Elene was frequently set on that glorious event,
about the nails that pierced
the feet of the Savior and likewise his hands,
the nails with which the Ruler of the heavens was fastened to the cross,
the mighty Lord. The queen of the Christians
began to ask about them, bid Cyriacus
that he fulfill her desire yet again
about their wondrous destiny through the might of the Spirit,
discover it by his glorious gifts, and spoke these words,
the bold one spoke to that bishop:
"You truly showed me, protector of men,
that noble cross on which the King of the heavens
was hanged by the hands of heathens,
the Helper of souls, God's own Son,
the Savior of men. Anxiety in my spirit
admonished me again about those nails.
I would like you to find those that are still in the earth,
deeply buried, concealed,
hidden in darkness. My sorrowful mind will always be mourning,
lamenting, and will never rest
until the Father almighty fulfills
my will, the Ruler of troops,
the Savior of men, the Holy One of heights,
through the appearance of those nails. Now quickly,
best of messengers, send forth your petition
in all humility to this bright creation,
to the joy of glory, pray to the glory of warriors
so that the almighty King might make known to you
the treasure under the earth that, still hidden,
concealed from the people, lies buried."
Then the holy one began to strengthen his mind,
inspired in his breast, the bishop of that people.
Glad-minded, he went with a band of men
praising God, and then
Cyriacus eagerly inclined his face
toward Calvary, did not conceal the secrets of his heart,
but with the might of the Spirit called out to God

in all humility, bid the Guardian of angels
to open the unknown destiny to him
in this new difficulty, where he might have the greatest expectation
of finding those nails in that place.
Then, as they gazed on, the Father, the Spirit of comfort
caused a sign in the form of fire
to rise up from where the most noble nails
were hidden in the earth
by the evil counsels of men.
Then suddenly a flame brighter than the sun
came leaping. The people saw
a wonder made known to their Ruler
when there in the darkness, the nails close
to the bottom gleamed brightly with light,
shining from below like the stars of heaven
or divine jewels. The people rejoiced,
the exultant troop, said "glory to God"
all in one voice though previously, for a long time,
they were in error through the devil's ruin,
turned away from Christ. They spoke thus:
"Now we see for ourselves the sign of victory,
the true wonder of God, though we previously strove against it
with lies. Now the light has arrived,
the course of destiny disclosed. Therefore may the God of heaven's kingdom
possess glory on high!"
Then he was gladdened, the bishop of that people
who turned afresh to repentance
through the Son of God. He took hold of those nails,
frightened with terror, and brought them
to the venerable queen. Cyriacus had
fulfilled, just as the noble one had bid him,
all the will of the woman. Then rings of lamentation,
hot tears, were poured out over the face--
tears fell not at all from grief
upon the clasp of wire-- the will of the queen
was fulfilled with glory. She knelt,
radiant in her faith, exultant in gladness,
honored the gift that had been brought to her
as a help for griefs. She thanked God,
the Lord of victories, because she recognized the truth,
now present, that had often been proclaimed
long before, from the creation of the world,
as a comfort to people. She was filled
with the gift of wisdom and the holy heavenly Spirit
held that dwelling-place, guarded that breast,
that noble heart. Then the almighty

victory-Son of God protected it afterwards.
Then she eagerly began to seek righteousness
in her mind by spiritual contemplations,
the way to glory. Indeed, the God of troops
helped, the Father in the heavens,
the almighty King, so that the queen achieved
her will in the world. That prophecy had been
sung before by prophets
right from the beginning, just as it came to pass again
in every respect. The queen of the people began
by the Spirit's gift to seek eagerly,
very closely, as to what purpose she could put
the best and the dearest nails
for the benefit of multitudes, what the Lord's will might be in this.
Then she ordered the very wise one,
one wise in spirit, brought quickly to counsel,
he who through the might of wisdom
could eagerly make known his counsel, and began to ask him
what, in his mind, he thought best for them
to do about this, and accepted his teaching
according to his instruction. He boldly answered her:
"That is fitting, that you hold in your mind
the word of the Lord, the holy mysteries,
greatest queen, and honor the King's
command eagerly, now that God, the Savior of men
has given you the victory for your souls
and the skill of wisdom. Order
that most noble earthly king
of princes to put those nails in his bridle
as a bit for his horse; that bridle shall become glorious
to many throughout middle-earth,
when, in strife, he is able to overcome each fiend
with it, when brave ones
on two sides seek battle,
sword-wielding warriors, when they strive for victory,
foe against foe. He who bears this bridle
in front, on the steed, will possess success in war,
victory in strife and peace everywhere,
protection in battle, when excellent
war-renowned men bear shield and spear
in the spear-storm. To every man
this shall be an invincible weapon in war,
against aggression, about which the prophet sang,
wise in sagacity --the faculty of his wisdom
penetrated deep-- he spoke these words:
'It will come to be, that the king's horse

shall be honored by its bit,
by its bridle-ring. That sign from God will be
called holy, and he who bears that steed
will be fortunate in war.'"
Then Elene quickly carried all that out
in front of her men. She ordered the prince's,
her son's, the ring-giver's bridle-adorned
and the noble gift sent as an offering
over the ocean's stream to her own son.
Then she ordered those she knew to be
the best among the Jews, of men,
of the race of men, to come to that holy stronghold,
to that city; then the queen began
to instruct the throng of loved ones that they steadfastly maintain
the love of the Lord and likewise peace,
friendship among themselves
without sin in their lifetime,
and that they should obey the teachings of their lord,
those customs of the Christians that Cyriacus, learned in books,
should order for them. The bishopric was
fairly established in him. The lame, the maimed
and the infirm often came to him from afar;
the crippled, the wounded, the leprous and the blind,
the wretched, the sad-minded always found a remedy
for their health there from that bishop,
forever and ever. Then again Elene gave him
costly gifts when she was ready
again for the journey to her native land, and bid those
worshipping God in that earthly kingdom,
all men and women, that they praise God
with their mind and their strength, with their hearts and thoughts
that glorious day on which the holy tree
was found, the most glorious of trees
of those that have grown up, grown beneath their leaves,
from the earth. Spring had then journeyed
except for six nights before the coming of summer
in the month of May. May the door of hell be closed
for each man, the kingdom of heaven's angels
revealed and forever opened
in eternal joy, and their portion assigned them
with Mary, everyone who holds in their mind
the festival of the most precious
cross under the heavens, which the Most Powerful,
the Ruler of all, covered over with his arms. The end.

Thus I, old and ready because of that old body

have woven my lay --no small wonder--
at times deliberated and sifted through thoughts
in the confines of the night. I did not know exactly
the truth about that cross before wisdom,
through the glorious Might, disclosed a more ample knowledge
to my mind. I was stained by my deeds,
fettered by sins, afflicted with sorrows,
bitterly bound, encompassed with afflictions
before the mighty King distributed his noble gift to me
in the form of light, bestowed his teaching
as a help to an old man, took hold of my mind,
disclosed brightness, at times extended it,
unbound my body, opened my breast,
unlocked the art of poetry, which I have enjoyed with pleasure,
with joy in the world. Often, not at all just once,
I had in my mind the tree of glory
before I had disclosed the miracle
about that bright tree, about what, in the course of events,
I found in books, made known in writings,
about that victory-sign. Until then the man was always
oppressed with surges of grief, C [the torch] sinking down,
though he received treasures in the meadhall,
twisted gold. Y [The bow] grieved,
his companion N [necessity] endured affliction,
a confined mystery, as bold E [the horse]
ran the mile-paths before him,
proud in its wire-woven trappings. W [Joy] is diminished,
playfulness with the years; his youth is changed,
old pomp. U [The bison] formerly possessed
the radiance of youth. Now the days
have departed forth after the appointed interval,
the joys in life passed away; L [the sea] will vanish like
the hastened floods. F [Wealth] is transitory
for everyone under the sky; the adornments of the land
will depart under the clouds most like the wind
when it rises loud before men,
roams about through the clouds, goes raging
and suddenly becomes still again,
narrowly confined in its prison,
constrained by violence.
Likewise all this world will depart,
and likewise also the destructive flame will seize
those who were engendered in it
when the Lord himself, with his troop of angels,
will seek judgment. Each human being
there must hear the truth

about each one of his deeds from the mouth of that judge
and likewise will pay the penalty
for all unwise words previously spoken,
shameless thoughts. Then he will divide
all the people into three in the embrace of the fire,
of those who ever lived
upon the wide earth. Those steadfast in truth will be
uppermost in that fire, the band of blessed ones,
a retinue eager for renown, so they, a host of bold ones,
will be able to endure it and without distress
easily tolerate it. He will moderate the fire's full radiance
for them all as it is most pleasant to them,
most bearable to them. The sinful,
mingled with evil, sad men,
will be tormented in the middle, in the hot swell,
overwhelmed with smoke. The third part,
cursed sinners, will be at the bottom of that surge,
deceitful tyrants, held secure in the flame
on account of their former deeds, the band of impious people
in the grip of fire-coals. Never afterwards will they come
into the remembrance of God, the King of glory,
out of that place of torment, but they, his bitter foes,
will be cast from that fierce flame
into the abyss of hell. For the other two parts it will be
different. They will be able to see the Lord of angels,
the God of victory. They will be purified,
separated from their sins, as refined gold
that is all cleansed of each impurity,
purified and melted in the surge
of the furnace by the fire. Likewise each of those men will be
parted and separated from each guilt,
from each deep sin by that fire of judgment.
They will then be able to enjoy peace afterwards,
eternal wealth. The Guardian of angels will be
merciful and gracious to them since they despised each evil,
the work of sins, and called out with words
to the Son of God. Therefore they now shine in glory
like the angels, enjoy the heritage
of the King of glory forever and ever. Amen.